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Promoting Japanese Womanhood: Visions of Women's Education in Meiji Japan

By

©

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the promotion of modern womanhood in Meiji Japan (1868-1912) by examining the views of three education reformers: Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1943), and Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929). Scholars tend to emphasize the role of the state in defining and disseminating gender ideals during the Meiji period. Yet, non-state actors, such as Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda, profoundly influenced the promotion of gender ideals in Meiji Japan. Their perspectives on women were deeply enmeshed in their identities and backgrounds, which shaped their different approaches to the education of women.

Using non-state centered and feminist approaches to the history of women's education in the Meiji period, this study offers fresh interpretation of the promotion of women's education by three individuals who were often viewed as "non-feminists" by historians in recent decades. Against the backdrop of the construction of the "modern" state, an examination of the ideas and practices of Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda shows the significant role they played in advancing the cause of women in Japan. This study also demonstrates that women were not merely objects of state policy and men's debates. Women, such as Tsuda, had a profound influence in the dissemination of appropriate education for Japanese women.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

More than a century after the Ministry of Education promoted the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) ideal for Meiji women, this ideal remains alive and continues to influence ideas of womanhood in present-day Japan. For example, the current proposal by the Constitution revision panel of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to amend Article 24 of the 1946 Constitution has gendered implications.[1] Such proposal supports the reassertion of the Meiji era ideal – men as soldiers, women as mothers and caretakers of the children and the elderly. Arguing that "individualism" has contributed to the "collapse of the family and community," the LDP panel suggested that laws should be enacted "from the viewpoint stressing the value of the family and the community," rather than from the "standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes." Underlying this proposal was the assertion that, as panel member Nishikawa Kyoko declares, a mother's "primal responsibility" is to her child. University of Tokyo professor Takahashi Tetsuya related the proposal to revise Article 24 to the argument to revise Article 9, the no-war provision of the 1946 Constitution, to allow Japan to rebuild its military. As he observed, "while women are expected to maintain the family and take care of the kids and the elderly, men are expected to support the country [as soldiers]." Furthermore, the rhetoric that asserts that women's "essential gender role" is as mothers and caretakers is compelling because of the current problems in Japan of a declining birthrate and an aging society. The Meiji ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* and its transmuted versions today by no means reflect the realities of the lives of many women in Japan then and now. Indeed, today the government expects women to balance both home and paid work. Still, contemporary feminist scholars in Japan have expressed their concern over the use of the "good wife, wise mother" rhetoric in order to define a "politically convenient and conservative role for women."[2]

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[1] Article 24 provides that "laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes." Its by-products include the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (1986), Basic Law for Gender-Equal Society (1999), and a Law for the Protection of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims (2001). Kogure Satoko, "Turning Back the Clock on Gender Equality," *The Japan Times* Online, 3 May 2005, n.p., http://www.japantimes.co.jp, accessed 5 May 2005. All Japanese names in this work are written with family name first, unless published otherwise.

In discussing the promotion of the virtues and responsibilities embodied by *ryōsai kenbo*, scholars, including historians of women and of modern Japan, tend to trace them to the Meiji state's education policy after the 1890s.[3] Yet, did the "good wife, wise mother" ideal emanate solely from Meiji (male) government officials? Was there a unified state conception of the "good wife, wise mother" or were there competing conceptions of womanhood? Did women advance their own views of the appropriate roles and attributes for women? This study investigates these questions to illuminate the promotion of ideals of womanhood, and the multiple sources of the discourse. It contributes to our understanding of the complex relationship between the state and society, especially between the state and women.

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[2] Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow, "The Ideology of Good Wives and Wise Mothers: Trends in Contemporary Research," *Gender and History* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 345-49. On the continuing influence of the transmuted versions of this ideology on postwar state policies in Japan, see Kathleen S. Uno, "Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'"?" in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 294-95. In addition, women's magazines in present-day Japan contribute to the promotion of the ideal image of women as wives. Noriko Yabuki-Soh, "Images of Japanese Women in the Era of Globalization: An Analysis of the Language in Women's Magazines," paper delivered at the Conference of the Japan Studies Association of Canada, McMaster University, 17 October 2003.

[3] See, for example, Sharon Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 151-74; Gail Lee Bernstein, Introduction to the *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 7-8; Komano Yōko, "Ryōsai kenboshugi no seiritsu to sono henyō" [The Establishment and Transformation of the "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Principle] in *Josei kaihō no shisō to kōdō senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], vol. 1, ed. Tanaka Sumiko, 134-46 (Tokyo: Jiji tsūshin, 1979); Shibukawa Hisako, "An Education for Making Good Wives and Wise Mothers" (Ryōsai kenbo no kyōiku), *Education in Japan* 6 (1971): 47-57; Fukaya Masashi, *Zōho ryōsai kenbo shugi no kyōiku* [Education According to the Good Wife and Wise Mother Principle] (Nagoya: Reimei shobō, 1990); Kimi Hara, "Challenges to Education for Girls and Women in Modern Japan: Past and Present," in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 97.

This study examines the promotion of modern womanhood during the Meiji period by exploring the history of women's education. At the heart of this investigation is the issue of womanhood as an object of the state's education policy and as it appeared in the views and practices of non-state reformers, defined here as those who did not assume official government positions.[4] More specifically, this study explores the educational ideas and practices of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1943), and Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929). They represent the different groups – non-Christian Japanese men, Christian Japanese men, and Christian Japanese women – who contributed significantly to the promotion of women's education during the Meiji period. The similarities and differences in their backgrounds in terms of gender, religious orientation, and relationship to the government provide an ideal basis upon which to analyze the origins, nature, and impact of their educational ideas on women. They were linked by a common vision of the importance of educating women, although there were variations in their methods and reasons. Their promotion of women's education did not begin and end at the same time, but there were overlaps in the time period. Altogether, they give us a broad picture of the arguments and efforts to advance women's education beyond the state throughout the Meiji era.

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[4] Scholars have presented different notions of the state. For example, Mariko Asano Tamanoi considers the journalists, intellectuals, as well as bureaucrats from the central and local governments who helped propagate state ideologies, as constitutive of the state. Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons: The Culture and History of *Komori* (Nursemaid) in Modern Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 4 (November 1991): 795-96.

We cannot speak of a coherent state policy on women because various ideas on women's social roles were advanced by the different ministries, such as the ministries of Education, Home, and War.[5] This study focuses on the gender ideals promoted by the Ministry of Education. The term "government officials" refers mostly to those people attached to this ministry, although I also refer to those who were from other ministries, as well as to local government and school officials who played a significant role in the formulation and implementation of gender ideals during the Meiji era.

This study demonstrates that boundaries between state and society were fluid as the views of government officials and non-state reformers interacted with each other to define gender-appropriate attributes and functions for women. It shows that non-state and state arguments and practices mutually reinforced but also competed with each other. By considering not only the male reformers who spoke for and acted on behalf of women, but also female reformers like Tsuda, I demonstrate that women advanced their own ideas of womanhood and were not merely objects of men's discussions.[6] Tsuda's views shared some similarities with those of Fukuzawa and Iwamoto. However, she differed from them in her perception of educated women as possessing an identity not based solely on their fathers and husbands.[7]

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[5] Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women," 163. Also see Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 149-77.

[6] In this study, I focus on a woman educator, but women writers like Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-1896), Miyake Kaho (1868-1944), Shimizu Shikin (1868-1933), and Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-1896) also challenged the stereotyped notions of women's behavior. Their writings addressed issues that were vital to women, including women's education. See Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Mioko Fujieda, "Japan's First Phase of Feminism," in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 328-29.

[7] In contrast, with reference to the late-twentieth and early-twentieth-century discourse of "social reformers" on factory women, anthropologist Mariko Asano Tamanoi suggests a unitary effect of their discourse that transformed factory workers into "Japanese women." Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Japanese Nationalism and the Female Body: A Critical Reassessment of the Discourse of Social Reformers on

My study frames the history of women's education in relation to nation-building efforts during the Meiji period. It explores the shifting ideals of non-state reformers, ideals that were shaped by specific political and socio-economic conditions. Integral to my approach is the examination of discourse, taken here as ideas and "ways of talking," as well as social practices.[8] I look into the varied and shifting meanings of women's education (*joshi kyôiku*), "good wife" (*yoi tsuma*), and "wise mother" (*kashikoi haha*). I also consider the ways through which they were articulated, developed, and utilized by non-state reformers to advance their own notions of educated womanhood. This study builds on the research of scholars of feminism and modern Japan, such as that of Barbara Molony who explores the changing conception of women's rights (*joken*) during the Meiji and Taishô eras. She argues that Meiji era feminist advocacy focused on inclusion in the state, while strategies changed during the Taishô era as feminists sought not only their right to participate in the state, but also "protection" from the state.[9] Reformers sought change on several levels. As Chandra Mohanty argues,

> Feminist struggles are waged on at least two simultaneous, interconnected levels: an ideological, discursive level which addresses questions of representation (womanhood/femininity), and a material, experiential, daily-life level which focuses on the micropolitics of work, home, family, sexuality, etc."[10]

Factory Women," in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 275-98.

[8] Barbara Johnstone, *Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002), 3. I have been influenced by critical and mediated discourse analyses, and thus social practices "constitute some kind of linkage between action, identity, ideology and power." Rodney H. Jones and Sigrid Norris, "Introducing Practice," in *Discourse in Action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis*, eds. Sigrid Norris and Rodney H. Jones (New York: Routledge, 2005), 98.

[9] Barbara Molony, "State and Women in Modern Japan: Feminist Discourses in the Meiji and Taishô Eras," in *Japan: State and People in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Janet Hunter, Discussion Paper No. JS/99/1683 (March 1999): 22, posted at http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/js/js368.pdf, accessed 24 August 2005.

[10] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Cartographies of Struggle," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 21.

This study examines the extent to which feminists and reformers acted on their arguments to elevate the conditions of women. After all, liberating thoughts, as feminist historian Gerda Lerner asserts, should be accompanied by liberating actions.[11]

In exploring the multiple sites from which the visions of modern womanhood emerged during the Meiji era, there is a need to go beyond "the state" in order to illuminate the broader promotion of gender ideals during this period. "The state" is here defined as a "more or less coherent network" of legal, political, and military institutions and structures and as a form of social relations.[12] As Molony rightly argues, notions of the state, nation, gender, and nationality were "all in the process of mutual construction" during the Meiji era.[13] I use the term "the state" to differentiate between those who were attached to the government by virtue of their official position and those who were not. Scholarship on the *ryōsai kenbo* ideology, including work by historians of Japanese women and by cultural anthropologists both in the past and in recent years, tends to focus on the role of the state as a major, if not the sole, formulator and implementor of this gender ideology.[14] Most of these existing works, as Yōko Iwahori notes, consider the *ryōsai kenbo* ideology mainly as "part of the nation's official policy" on women.[15] Some scholars have briefly noted the influence of non-state reformers like Fukuzawa in propagating gender ideals, especially in the early decades of the Meiji era, and they urge in-depth study of the early arguments for the "good wife, wise mother" ideal by these reformers.[16] Although some recent studies like that of Hirota Masaki have considered other factors, such as the growth of the middle class in the formation of this ideology, they continue to highlight the vital role of the state in its propagation.[17] They exaggerate the role of the state and marginalize the dissonant voices of non-state actors, both men and women, who prevented *ryôsai kenbo* from becoming, in the words of historian Kathleen Uno, a "hegemonic ideology."[18]

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[11] Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 221.

[12] Sophie Watson, "The State of Play: An Introduction," in *Playing the State: Australian Feminist Interventions*, ed. Sophie Watson (New York/London: Verso, 1990), 8.

[13] Barbara Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights in Turn-of-the-Century Japan," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 464.

[14] Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women," 151-74; Bernstein, Introduction, 7-8; Komano, "Ryōsai kenboshugi no seiritsu to sono henyō," 134-46; Shibukawa, "An Education for Making Good Wives and Wise Mothers," 47-57; Hara, "Challenges to Education for Girls and Women," 97.

[15] Yōko Iwahori, "*Jogaku Zasshi* (The Women's Magazine) and the Construction of the Ideal Wife in the Mid-Meiji Era," trans. Richard V. Saberton, in *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 2, eds. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, and Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999), 392.

Furthermore, the thematic focus of the works on the *ryôsai kenbo* has been mostly on the impact and the past and present manifestations of this ideology. Such an approach is important because it illuminates the function and significance of *ryôsai kenbo*, but it does not explain the creation of this ideology, especially the sources of the discourse outside of government officials. Among the early studies on the consequences of *ryôsai kenbo* was Fukaya Masashi's work that identifies this "good wife, wise mother" ideology as instrumental in promoting and maintaining a conservative social order based on the imperial system (*tennô-sei*), and a capitalistic and patriarchal family system grounded in sexism.[19] In the 1970s and 1980s the works of historians Murakami Nobuhiko and Sharon L. Sievers challenged the impact of gender ideals in general and of the "good wife, wise mother" in particular by shining light on the lives of women who pursued higher education against the opposition of their parents, and defied expected female behavior by advocating for women's political rights.[20] Feminist scholarship on Japanese women since the 1990s continues to highlight the changes in Japanese women's conditions, and the active struggle of women, with linkages to their sisters in other parts of Asia, to effect changes in their everyday lives.[21]

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[16] Fujimura-Fanselow, "The Japanese Ideology of 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers,'" 344; Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), 22.

[17] Hirota Masaki, "Notes on the 'Process of Creating Women' in the Meiji Era," trans. Suzanne O'Brien, in *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 2, eds. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, and Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999), 197-219. In another recent study, cultural anthropologist Hiroshi Aoyagi attributes the *ryôsai kenbo* ideology to the Ministry of Education. Hiroshi Aoyagi, "Pop Idols and Gender Contestation," in *Japan At the Millennium: Joining Past and Future*, ed. David W. Edgington (Vancouver, B.C.: University of Victoria Press, 2003), 144.

[18] Uno, "Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'"? 294.

[19] Fukaya Masashi, *Ryôsai kenboshugi no kyôiku* [Education for the Good Wife, Wise Mother Principle] (Nagoya: Reimei shobô, 1966).

My approach to the history of Japanese women draws on work that challenges state control theory and uses a non-state-centered approach to the history of Japanese women and Japanese education. It combines a feminist approach to the study of Japanese women's education with an analysis of the impact of non-state actors in the promotion of gender ideals. Most pertinent to this approach is Molony's work on feminist discourse during the Meiji and Taishô eras that shows the various actors– men and women, including those who did not assume official positions in the government – who shaped government policies and outcomes.[22] My study has also benefited from historical studies on Japanese education, such as the work of Mark E. Lincicome, who shows how local educators challenged the Meiji state's efforts to promote education as an instrument to

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[20] Murakami Nobuhiko, *Meiji joseishi* [History of Meiji Women], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-1972); Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*.

[21] Japanese feminist scholarship in recent decade seeks to rectify not only women's negative portrayal as victims in historical accounts, but also addresses various issues, such as the representations of Japanese women in the mass media outside Japan, and the origins of Japanese feminisms. Fujimura-Fanselow and Kameda, *Japanese Women*; Inoue Teruko, Ueno Chizuko,Ehara Yumiko, and Amano Masako, eds., *Nihon no feminizumu: Bosei* [Feminism in Japan: Maternalism], vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), i-ii; Saitô Chiyo, "What is Japanese Feminism?", trans. Sandra Buckley, in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 257-70. On Japanese and non-Japanese feminist scholarship that highlights the diversity of women's experience within Japan, and the linkages between Japanese women and their Asian counterparts, see Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 202-21; Matsui Yayori, "Interview" [Sandra Buckley's interview with Matsui], in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 131-42; Matsui Yayori, "Asian Migrant Women in Japan," trans. Sandra Buckley, Opening address given at the Conference on International Trafficking in Women, New York, 22-23 October 1988, in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 143-55.

[22] Molony, "State and Women," 21-64; Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights," 463-92.

"foster public submission to the Imperial Will" through their resistance and attempts at reform. Lincicomi's study refutes the claims of earlier works that Meiji educators were transformed into "compliant instruments of indoctrination" beginning in the 1880s.[23] In addition, my work is influenced by the thrust of the historiography of modern Japanese history in the past decades, which calls attention to ruptures and conflicts that characterized Japan's transformation into a modern nation.[24] Horio Teruhisa, for example, highlights the ideas and actions of progressive reformers who resisted the Meiji state's top-down approach in defining education.[25]

My study also draws on works on gender and social policy and on women and the welfare state in the United States and Europe that reassess women's relationship to the state and demonstrate their impact on state policy formation.[26] Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, for example, attribute the passage of the child maternal infant welfare services in the 1900s and the maternity benefits in 1911 to "organized [British] women's pressure."[27] In Anne Cova's fine work on nineteenth and early twentieth-century French feminism and maternalism, she admits that women's lack of voting rights contributed to the politicians' lack of interest in feminist demands, but she asserts that feminists did have an influence on legislation through their "public activities and links with some Members of Parliament and other politicians."[28]

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[23] Mark E. Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 17.

[24] See, for example, Tetsuo Najita and Victor V. Koschmann, eds., *Conflict: The Neglected Tradition in Modern Japanese History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982); Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Pantheon, 1982); Gavan McCormack and Yoshio Sugimoto, eds., *The Japanese Trajectory: Modernization and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[25] Horio Teruhisa, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom*, ed. and trans. Steven Platzer (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), xiii.

[26] On the American case, see Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990). On the European case, see Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds., *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare State, 1880s-1950s* (London/New York: Routledge, 1991).

[27] Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, Introduction to *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare State, 1880s-1950s*, eds. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), 6.

Similarly, in Japan, works since the 1980s have shown the complexity of women's relationship to the state by demonstrating that women were agents in history. Historian Mikiso Hane, for example, explored the life of "rebel women" like Fukuda Hideko, who defied state authorities in order to further their cause.[29] Sheldon Garon's work argues that women leaders like Ichikawa Fusae worked with the government during wartime in order to show that women were worthy of the right to vote.[30] Yôko Iwahori's insightful analysis of the construction of the ideal wife in the mid-Meiji era also reveals that the domestic ideal, as expressed in the *Jogaku zasshi* (The Women's Education Magazine), reflected women's own ideals of the new lifestyle and roles that they expected the new era would bring.[31] Influenced by these works that go beyond the interpretation of the state as merely imposing its policy on people, my study shows the strategies adopted by men and women reformers to promote their own visions of educated womanhood. Cova's work is useful for this purpose as it demonstrates how French feminist women strategically stressed the importance of motherhood amidst concerns of declining French population in order to call for the protection of the rights of mothers.[32]

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[28] Anne Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity: Theories and Policies 1890-1918," in *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare State, 1880s-1950s*, eds. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), 133.

[29] Mikiso Hane, *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[30] Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, no. 1 (1993): 5-41.

[31] Iwahori, "*Jogaku Zasshi*," 397-411. Women's relationship to the state remains a theme in the recent studies on Japan and Japanese women. In the 58th Annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies in San Francisco in April 2006, one session was entitled "Japanese Women and the State in Historical Context."

[32] Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity," 120.

By focusing on male and female non-state actors, this study answers the call of scholars like Motoyama Yukihiko for work on Meiji intellectuals who played a prominent part in forming and disseminating educational ideas.[33] Scholars of Japanese women, such as Kuniko Fujimura-Fanselow, Sharon Sievers, and Kathleen Uno urge in-depth study of the arguments for the "good wife, wise mother" by male intellectuals and the investigation of "male and female ideas about motherhood," especially during the early Meiji period.[34] Historian Vera Mackie further underscores the need for this kind of study when she rightly notes that too little is known about the role of women as participants in Meiji discussions on women's roles.[35]

The history of women's education offers an opportunity to explore the rich potential that a comparative approach holds for understanding the promotion of gender ideals in Meiji Japan.[36] Without arguing for the homogeneity of non-state reformers and government officials, this study suggests patterns representative of the similarities and differences in the education views of non-state reformers and government officials, as well as of men and women reformers. Historians have used a comparative approach to the history of Japanese education and of intellectuals, but their work tends to compare the ideas only of male reformers, neglecting their female counterparts and women's issues, such as women's education.[37] Recent comparative studies, including Martha Tocco's fine work that compares three Meiji educational institutions of female higher learning, have slowly filled this historiographical gap by showing some of the sources of Meiji discourse on women's higher education.[38]

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[33] Motoyama Yukihiko, "Meirokusha Thinkers and Early Meiji Enlightenment Thought," trans. George M. Wilson, in *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought, and Education in the Meiji Era*, eds. J.S.A. Elisonas and Richard Rubinger (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 238-73.

[34] Fujimura-Fanselow, "The Japanese Ideology of 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers,'" 344; Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 22; Kathleen Uno, "Maternalism in Modern Japan," *Journal of Women's History* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 129-30.

[35] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 18; Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900-1937* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 25.

[36] On the usefulness and problems of using comparative research in women's and gender history, see Bock and Thane, Introduction to *Maternity and Gender Policies*, 2-3.

By examining the education ideas and practices of Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda, this study establishes and reclaims their feminist contributions to the history of Japanese women. At the centre of this investigation is the issue of what constitutes feminism, including feminist argument and advocacy. I use feminism here in its larger sense, as an "awareness of women's oppression and exploitation within the family, at work and in society, and conscious action by women [and men] to change this situation."[39] Thus feminism is not limited to advocacy for equal rights and legal reforms, but also includes any argument and effort geared toward improving women's status and conditions, including those regarding the home. This study joins the works of contemporary Japanese feminist scholars, like Ueno Chizuko, who seek to widen our understanding of what constitutes feminism and underscore the need to recognize the various strands of feminisms in Japan, as elsewhere. Ueno and others have argued that the path toward women's liberation is through the affirmation of womanhood, sexuality, and reproductive power, and they have underscored the close link between *bosei* (maternalism) and feminism.[40]

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[37] See, for example, Dorothy A. Bonnalie, "Education in Early Meiji Japan, 1868-1890: Fukuzawa Yukichi, Niijima Jo and Mori Arinori" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1976); Andrew E. Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1988).

[38] Martha Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1994).

[39] Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 2.

[40] Ueno Chizuko, "The Japanese Women's Movement: The Counter-Values to Industrialism," in *The Japanese Trajectory: Modernization and Beyond*, eds. Gavan McCormack and Yoshio Sugimoto

In Japan, as in many other countries, early works that traced the history of women's movements and the development of feminist consciousness in Japan tend to concentrate on women's suffrage or the pursuit of political rights.[41] They were important because they were part of the scholarship that intended to document women's fight against a history of oppression. They also suggested that feminism encompassed mainly activities intended to gain political rights and those that were critical of the government based, for example, on various political perspectives. Yet, such an emphasis ignores the complexity of women's struggle for equality. It ignores the focus of Meiji era advocacy for women's rights that, as Molony argues, called for inclusion, not revolution or overthrow of the state. It fails to recognize the importance of women's struggle for respect (either through their education or through their equal position at home) – a central theme of Meiji feminist advocacy,[42] including that of Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda.

Consequently, scholarly work that traces the early history (or what is known as the "first phase" of Japanese feminism) tends to downplay the feminist contributions of Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda because these reformers did not emphasize women's

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 167-85; Ueno Chizuko, "Interview" [Buckley's interview with Ueno Chizuko], in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 277-292; Inoue, et. al., *Nihon no feminizumu: Bosei*. Also see Sachiko Ide, "Interview" [Buckley's interview with Ide Sachiko], in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 35-47. Similarly, scholars of European women stress that motherhood is not antithetical to feminism. See Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity," 119-37.

[41] See Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*; Dee Ann Vavich, "The Japanese Women's Movement: Ichikawa Fusae, Pioneer in Women's Suffrage," *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, no. 3 (1967): 421-22. One exception is the book edited by Tanaka Sumiko, *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), which examines the varied ideas not only limited to women's suffrage, but also on prostitution, family, and women and militarism advanced by various individuals, such as *Meirokusha* members Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori.

[42] Molony, "State and Women in Modern Japan," 23-24; Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights," 464.

suffrage and extra-domestic roles for women.[43] Early works by Inoue Teruko and Kumari Jayawardena on feminism and the women's movement in Japan acknowledged Fukuzawa's and Iwamoto's contributions to women's rights, but they ignored Tsuda's or describe her briefly as a "champion of women's higher education," without making an explicit argument regarding her feminist advocacy.[44] In the recent decade, Fujieda Mioko's work, which seeks to rectify the marginalization of the history of feminism in the current Japanese school curriculum, also excluded Tsuda. Instead, she focuses on "rebel" women, including popular rights advocates, writers, socialists, and "political martyrs" like Kishida Toshiko (1864-1901), Kageyama Hideko (1865-1927), Shimizu Shikin (1868-1933), Kanno Suga (1881-1911), and Ichikawa Fusae (1893-1981).[45] Vera Mackie's recent work on feminism in modern Japan examines a wide array of activities and ideas, including maternalist ones, and at least briefly notes that Tsuda was a government-sponsored student in the United States and a pioneer of women's higher education. However, Mackie does not identify Tsuda's specific contributions to the history of Japanese feminism.[46] Most of these works focus on the versions of feminism that promoted equal rights, in contrast to maternalist, relational, welfare, or social feminism. Observing a similar negative assessment by scholars of the reformers' views of motherhood in early twentieth-century Great Britain, Jane Lewis and Pat Thane argue that such interpretation has the "stamp of present-day ideas projected into the past."[47] It is therefore necessary to assess the feminist arguments of Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda (and their supposed neglect of women's political rights) by "their own values and those of their own time."[48]

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[43] Mikiso Hane considers Fukuzawa not only an advocate of Japanese women's rights, but also a "true pioneer in the feminist movement in Japan." Mikiso Hane, "Fukuzawa Yukichi and Women's Rights," in *Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912*, eds. Hilary Conroy, Sandra T. W. Davis, and Wayne Patterson (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 96-112. One exception to the scholarship on Tsuda is Takahashi Yûko who challenges the characterization of Tsuda as a social conservative, and underscores her contributions as a feminist. Takahashi Yûko, "Umeko Tsuda and Educational Reform in Modern Japan: From Bicultural Child to International Feminist" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1989).

[44] Inoue Teruko, "Fukuzawa Yukichi no danjo dôsûron," in *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], vol. 1, ed. Tanaka Sumiko (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), 26-28; Jayawardena, *Feminisn and Nationalism in the Third World*, 230-32.

[45] Fujieda, "Japan's First Phase of Feminism," 324.

[46] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 26.

This study draws on a wide range of sources, including official government regulations and public pronouncements, and newspaper accounts of the education ideas and practices of government authorities. It also examines personal correspondence between Education Ministry bureaucrats and local school authorities in order to learn more about their views on women's education. In exploring the ideas and practices of non-state reformers, I turn to their writings, including newspaper editorials and articles, autobiographical accounts, and personal records, such as diaries and letters. I also analyze educational records, such as sample school curricula and textbooks, as well as newspaper accounts. Finally, I examine students' and teachers' autobiographical, as well as biographical, accounts in order to assess how gender ideals were implemented in the classrooms and how students responded to them.

My research on Japanese womanhood and education, framed within the socio-economic and political realities of mid-nineteenth to early twentieth-century Japan, begins in chapter two by examining the Meiji state's policy on women's education. It explores the arguments and initiatives for women's education developed by government officials, especially those from the Ministry of Education. Given that women's education was vital to state building efforts during this period, government initiatives for modernization and nation-building provide a useful context for analyzing ideas about women in the realm of education. Chapter two demonstrates the broad extent of the Meiji government's promotion of gender ideals. Since the 1870s, girls' training for their future responsibilities as wives and mothers was integral to their education starting in the elementary school. Although government officials were not monolithic in their ideas of womanhood, Education Ministry officials, as well as school principals and teachers, advanced a gendered rhetoric and initiated measures to transform girls and women into responsible caretakers of the young and the old, and efficient household managers.

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[47] Bock and Thane, Introduction to *Maternity and Gender Policies*, 7.

[48] In Europe, disregarding the maternalist thrust of the early women's movements in France, Germany, Italy, and Norway, "true feminism" has been viewed as necessarily aiming for the abolition of the sexual division of labor, motherhood, and gender roles. "[T]he main paths to women's liberation" were limited to campaigns related to contraception and abortion, and to engagement in extra-domestic work. Ibid., 3, 7.

Chapters three, four, and five investigate the views of and programs for women's education created by Fukuzawa Yukichi, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, and Tsuda Umeko. In chapter three I examine Meiji reformer Fukuzawa Yukichi's ideas starting in the early 1870s – an era of "enlightenment" (*keimô*) – and continuing well into the late 1890s. This chapter demonstrates how a non-state reformer's deep commitment to "civilize" Japan and to protect it from the threat of western imperialism was intertwined with his conception of why it was necessary to educate women and how to proceed. Although Fukuzawa helped propagate the notion of women as contributors to familial and national welfare mainly through their responsibilities at home, his emphasis on economic independence and self-sufficiency for women had profound implications for women's struggle for equality.

Chapter four focuses on a second Meiji reformer, Iwamoto Yoshiharu and his ideas and practices, especially from the mid- 1880s to the early 1890s, when he "fervently espoused the education of women."[49] An anti-western backlash characterized this period in Japanese history. Against this backdrop, the Japanese Christians' patriotism was rendered suspect because of their Christian beliefs. Negotiating the tensions between his identities as Japanese and as Christian, Iwamoto advanced ideas on appropriate education for women that were, for the most part, anchored in compatible "Japanese" and Christian ideals of womanhood. He endorsed the domestic ideal for women, but he also stressed the equality of the husband and the wife.

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[49] Molony, "State and Women," 33.

In chapter five, I examine the arguments and initiatives for women's education of a third Meiji reformer, Tsuda Umeko. This chapter explores Tsuda's arguments beginning in the 1880s, after she returned to Japan from her studies in the United States, and follows her efforts well into the end of the Meiji era. It demonstrates that not all the actors who shaped the contours of women's education were men. Since the 1880s, Tsuda had privately expressed in her letters to her American foster mother, Adeline Lanman, her feminist visions of women's education. In the 1890s and 1900s she launched her education projects, which aimed to elevate the conditions of women. Tsuda was not the only woman who campaigned to improve women's education.[50] Her story, however, is more compelling because she was a product of the state-sponsored foreign education for Japanese women. The thrust of Tsuda's promotion of women's education, therefore, shows the unintended consequences of the Meiji government's project to educate women: she advanced attributes and functions for womanhood that went beyond those that were promoted by government officials and other non-state male reformers. She subverted the dominant male vision of educated womanhood by arguing that women should be educated not only for the family and the nation. She challenged the Education Ministry's ideal for women by training women for social roles beyond the domestic sphere.

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[50] Aside from Tsuda, there were women like Kishida Toshiko who denounced in the 1880s the education given by parents to their daughters. She also argued for women's right to own property. Fujieda, "Japan's First Phase of Feminism," 328-29; Kishida Toshiko, "Hakoiri musume" [Daughters Confined in Boxes], *Jiyū shimbun* 411, 20 November 1883, cited in Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 41, 38.

Finally, in chapter six, I conclude this study by exploring the similarities and differences in the views and practices of non-state education reformers and government officials. I also reflect on the strategies for the education of women adopted by non-state reformers and on the reasons why they were effective. My discussion illuminates the complex relationship between "state" and "non-state" actors and between state efforts and women's own initiatives by revealing the overlapping and mutually reinforcing, as well as the competing aspects of their discourses.

CHAPTER TWO

Efficient Wives and Responsible Mothers: The Meiji State's Policy on Women's Education

In November 1871, five Japanese girls were summoned for an audience at the Imperial Court. The oldest was fifteen years old and the youngest not yet seven years old. The youngest girl, Tsuda Umeko, recalled that "we could see nothing, even if we had dared to raise our bowed heads, but behind which [the screen] we knew was seated the sacred presence." For the first time ever, the Empress had granted an audience to the daughters of the samurai to give them, in the words of Tsuda, the mandate "to go abroad to study for the good of our countrywomen."[1] Why was women's education so important to the government that it prompted such an unprecedented act from the Empress? For what reasons and in what manner did the government authorities seek to educate women?

This chapter explores the arguments and initiatives for women's education by Meiji government officials, especially those from the Ministry of Education (*Monbushō*). It utilizes the Education Ministry's official regulations, prescribed school curricula and textbooks, teachers' guide syllabi, speeches of government bureaucrats, as well as newspaper accounts. It also draws on personal correspondence between education bureaucrats and school officials to further reveal government views on women's education. In addition, it examines personal accounts of teachers and students to assess how gender ideals were implemented in the classrooms and how they were received by the students.

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[1] Tsuda Ume, "Japanese Women Emancipated," *The Chicago Record*, 27 February 1897, reprinted in *Tsuda Umeko Monjō* [The Writings of Umeko Tsuda], ed. Tsuda-juku Daigaku (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 1984), 78-79.

Ideal feminine values and women's domestic duties were central to the Meiji state's policy on women's education, although the ministries and the government officials did not have a monolithic conception of womanhood.[2] More specifically, visions of women as educators of children, as caretakers of children and the elderly, and as managers of their homes figured in the government officials' views of educated womanhood throughout the Meiji era, but the degree of importance attached to these roles varied and shifted throughout this period. Initial efforts to shape women's social roles and to advance women's domestic roles commenced in the 1870s. Historians who investigate the Meiji government's policy on women tend to focus on the period beginning in 1890 because, as historians Sharon Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings explain, it was during the period between 1890 and 1911 that the Meiji government "articulated piecemeal its official definition of women's role in industrialization."[3] Yet, exploring the

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[2] Sharon Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910" in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1943*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 169. Also see Kathleen S. Uno, *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 49.

[3] On works on *ryôsai kenbo* that focus on the period beginning in the 1890s, see Ohinata Masami, "The Mystique of Motherhood: A Key to Understanding Social Change and Family Problems in Japan," trans. Timothy John Phelan, in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspective on the Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: The Feminist Press, 2000), 199-212; Komano Yôko, "Ryôsai kenboshugi keisei no ato o tadoru" [Tracing the Later Formation of the "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Principle] in *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], vol. 1, ed. Tanaka Sumiko (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), 121-33; Komano Yôko, "Ryôsai kenboshugi no seiritsu to sono henyô" [The Establishment and Transformation of the "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Principle] in *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], vol. 1, ed. Tanaka Sumiko (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), 134-46; Fukaya Masashi, *Zôho ryôsai kenbo shugi no kyôiku* [Education According to the Good Wife and Wise Mother Principle] (Nagoya: Reimei shobô, 1990), 165; Hirota Masaki, "Notes on the 'Process of Creating Women' in the Meiji Era," trans. Suzanne O'Brien, in *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 2, eds. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, and Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2001), 208-14; Kathleen S. Uno, "The Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?" in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 294; Kathleen S. Uno, "Women and Changes in the

1870s and 1880s is equally important in understanding the extent of the government advancement of ideal womanhood and gender in modern Japan. Such an examination shows that the transmission of gender-appropriate values and domestic roles was closely intertwined with state-building efforts during the 1870s and 1880s. Probing the entire Meiji period, therefore, broadens our understanding of the government promotion of ideals of womanhood. Furthermore, the Education Ministry promoted domestic ideals for women through gendered school curricula, but courses like sewing had multiple meanings for the bureaucrats, school authorities, teachers, parents, and students.

The first section of this chapter examines the Meiji government education reforms in the 1870s and 1880s, and the special place occupied by women's education. It also explores the educational opportunities available to girls and women, and the challenges that confronted the government initiatives for women's education during this period. The second section analyzes the government rhetoric on educating women for their domestic roles. The third section examines the Education Ministry's efforts to promote the "good wives, wise mothers" education throughout the Meiji era, which manifested in the school lessons on sewing, morals, and domestic science.

Early Meiji Education Reforms and Women's Education

Meiji government leaders viewed education in general as a vital instrument in elevating Japan's inferior position vis-à-vis the American and the European powers. Fifteen years before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, American battleships under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry forcefully opened Japan after more than two

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Household Division of Labor," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 38.

hundred years of self-imposed isolation (*sakoku*). This humiliating experience became the Meiji government's rationale for "modernizing" the country by learning and adapting ideas and technology from the United States and Europe. The training of educated imperial subjects was crucial to carry out this national goal.

Women's education, in particular, was a central component of the early Meiji education reforms and, as in many other countries, a fundamental part of the state-building process.[4] For the first time, the government provided for the foreign education of girls.[5] Men had previously studied abroad under the sponsorship of their domains like Satsuma and Chôshu, and of the Tokugawa shogunate, but this was the first government-sponsored initiative for women.[6] In December 1871, when the Iwakura Mission (1871-1873) left Japan to observe and study western theories and practices in the United States and Europe, five of the sixty students were girls who were on their way to study in the United States.[7] The royal mandate the Empress gave these girls – to study abroad for the good of Japanese women – reflected the government's recognition that women had something unique to contribute to nation-building.[8]

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[4] See Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998); Aurora Morcillo Gomez, "Shaping True Catholic Womanhood: Francoist Educational Discourse on Women," in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, eds. Victoria Loree Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 51-70; Paul Bailey, "Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife? The Debate over the Women's Education in Early-Twentieth-Century China," in *Education, Culture, and Identity inTwentieth-Century China*, eds. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 318-47.

[5] There might have been other girls and women the Meiji government sent to study abroad, but this is the most well-known group of female students who studied abroad, especially during the early Meiji era. The Ministry of Education selected three students, including Hatoyama Haruko, to study in the United States in 1879, but the trip was cancelled most likely due to financial constraints. Sally A. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 84.

[6] In 1863 and 1865, male samurai students from Satsuma and Chôshu were sent to Great Britain. Ardath W. Burks, "The Japan's Outreach: The *Ryûgakusei*," in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 149. Also see Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1965), 63.

[7] The five girls were Ueda Tei, Nagai Shige, Yamakawa Sutematsu, Yoshimasu Ryo, and Tsuda Ume. Ueda and Yoshimasu returned to Japan after a year in the U.S. because of health and adjustment problems. The Iwakura Mission, composed of about forty-eight officials including vice-prime minister Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883), visited the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia,

Aside from providing for the foreign education of the five girls, the Meiji government called for compulsory education of all girls and boys in Japan. The *Gakusei* (Fundamental Code of Education, 1872) mandated that parents send their children to school beginning at the age of six. The required number of years of schooling was, at first, eight years and it was reduced to four years in 1879.[9] Elementary education was divided into lower (ordinary) and higher courses of four years each, a system that continued until 1907. The length of study in the compulsory lower elementary school was over six months, and the *Gakusei* prescribed the subjects to be studied for each grade. Overall, the *Gakusei* called for the establishment of eight universities, 256 middle schools, and 53,760 elementary schools throughout Japan.[10] Propelled by high expectations for the new era, these were ambitious goals that were difficult to accomplish given the limited financial capacity of the newly established government and the unstable economic conditions of the country. Not surprisingly, the new Meiji education system had to utilize many of the Tokugawa schools as "component unit[s] of the new school system."[11]

Nonetheless, the rhetoric of early Meiji education reforms was notable because of its emphasis on individual benefits of education. Yet, government officials' exhortations also made it clear that education should contribute to the national welfare. For example, the *Gakuhi shôrei no kansuru ôseidasaresho* (Preamble to the Fundamental Code of

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Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland. Tsuzuki Chushichi, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan, 1825-1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 64-65.

[8] Tsuda, "Japanese Women Emancipated," 78-79.

[9] The required number of years of schooling was increased to six years in 1908.

[10] Kikuchi Dairoku, *Japanese Education: Lectures Delivered in the University of London* (London: John Murray, 1909), 72, 87.

[11] Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, 12.

Education, 1872) identified individual advancement as the primary goal of education. *Risshin shusse* (success in life) became the catchphrase for many ambitious young men during the early Meiji years.[12] Despite the *Ôseidasaresho's* assertion that education was mainly for personal advancement, students like Nitobe Inazô (1862-1933) recalled how government officials "pleaded most seriously" with them to think about what they could contribute to their country. When he was studying at an English language school in the mid-1870s, he related how he listened to the impassioned speech of a visiting government official. The speech made him realize that "one's education must be for the good of his country."[13]

The new Meiji public school system sought to provide education to all, regardless of the person's gender and the family's social standing. In contrast, Tokugawa education had been provided in various settings, such as at domain schools (*hankô*), which were mainly for samurai sons. Samurai daughters were commonly educated by parents or by tutors at home, or in private academies (*shijuku*) managed and taught by male or female teachers. Daughters of wealthy merchant and peasant entrepreneurs were taught by their parents at home or by notable scholars from the community, or they attended temple schools (*terakoya*). Girls from poor households in the villages learned practical skills at the needle shops (*ohariya*), where a farm wife taught them sewing.[14] Overall, historian

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[12] Ibid., 68, 210-11.

[13] Nitobe Inazô, *Reminiscences of Childhood: In the Early Days of Modern Japan* (Tokyo: Maruzen Co., 1934), 63.

[14] On the education of girls during the Tokugawa period, see Martha C. Tocco, "Female education in practice: Norms and texts for women's education in Tokugawa Japan," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 193-213. On the education of girls from peasant families, see Anne Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1943*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 45-48. On the Tokugawa school system, see Ronald Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1965); Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, 15-39.

Ronald Dore estimates that around ten percent of girls, in contrast to forty-three percent of boys, went to school during the Tokugawa period.[15]

Given the Meiji government's emphasis on the individual benefits of education, the cost of education was assigned to the family. Students were charged monthly fees of 50 *sen*, a huge expense when the average monthly income was 1 *yen* and 75 *sen*.[16] Together with tax payments and military service, this amount only added to the burden of the poor.[17] Not surprisingly, very little tuition was collected and the national government assigned the local governments to subsidize the new school system.[18] Nonetheless, according to Education Minister Kikuchi Dairoku, having parents shoulder the cost of their children's education was intended to promote self-reliance and to discourage the people from depending on the government.[19] This was also a pragmatic move on the part of the government considering that from September 1868 to December 1872, total government expenditure (148.3 million *yen*) was almost three times the revenue (50.4 million *yen*).[20]

Aside from promoting compulsory education, the government built schools for girls and women. Following the thrust of the early Meiji education policy, the curricula in these schools aimed to provide general education in the sciences and the arts. They also disseminated "appropriate" feminine behavior and function. The first public girls' school in Japan, the Tokyo Jogakkô (Tokyo Girls' School), was built at Takebashi in February 1872. It had a six-year course offering that included Japanese literature, English language, handiwork, and miscellaneous work.[21] It initially offered elementary education to girls between the ages of seven and fourteen, and its entrance requirements and curriculum were upgraded in 1875, transforming it into a secondary school.[22] Furthermore, in 1882 the Joshi Kôtô Gakkô (Women's Higher School), opened in Tokyo with a five-year "higher general curriculum" that aimed to produce "refined and gentle women."[23] The subjects included morals, household management, and sewing, as well as reading, composition, writing, arithmetic, geography, Japanese history, natural history, physics, chemistry, drawing, music, and gymnastics. In addition to public schools, there were also private schools for girls established by women educators like Atomi Kakei (1840-1926) and Shimoda Utako (1854-1936). Like the government schools, private schools offered national (Japanese) language, Chinese classics, arithmetic, and writing, in addition to sewing, *koto* (harp) playing, flower arrangement, and tea ceremony.

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[15] Tocco, "Female Education in practice," 195, 206; Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 321.

[16] Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan*, 66.

[17] Tadashi Kaneko, "Contributions of David Murray to the Modernization of School Administration in Japan," in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 309.

[18] Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 103. Government subsidies were used for the maintenance of elementary schools, salaries and expenses related to the hiring of foreign teachers, buildings, buying books and instruments in universities. There were also special schools called poor (charity) schools for those who could not afford to pay tuition fees. Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 73-74, 80.

[19] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 70-71.

[20] Hane, *Modern Japan*, 99.

The English language was an important component of the curriculum at the Tokyo Jogakkô, as it was in other schools for girls. The government considered the teaching of English necessary for the study of "higher branches of science and art" and "practical pursuits."[24] Knowledge of the English language also became the "mark of the new education for any young Japanese."[25] Like the eating of beef and the wearing of western clothes, learning English became a "fashionable" thing to do in the mid-1880s.[26] Foreigners were hired to teach English in Japanese schools. For example, the Americans Mrs. Vedeer and Margaret Griffis taught at the Tokyo Jogakkô in the early 1870s with the help of interpreters.[27]

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[21] In addition, a two-year preparatory course was instituted at the Tokyo Jogakkô. This school was abolished in 1877. Monbushô, *Outlines of the Modern Education in Japan* (Tokyo: Department of Education, 1893), 155.

[22] Chizuko Usui, "Margaret Griffis and the Education of Women in Early Meiji Japan," in *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, eds. Edward R. Beauchamp and Akira Iriye (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 215; Martha Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1994), 120-21.

[23] This school was attached to the Joshi Shihan Gakkô (Women's Normal School). Monbushô, *Outlines of the Modern Education*, 155.

[24] For this purpose, the Meiji government established seven foreign language schools from 1873 to 1874. Many of them closed in 1877 due to budget constraints. Ibid., 3.

Some historians tend to consider the 1870s as a period of "indiscriminate borrowing" from the west, but the Tokyo Jogakkô curriculum shows that a selective process, usually identified with the 1880s, was adopted even during the first decade of the Meiji era.[28] This selective approach is key to understanding the kind of education the government promoted for girls and women. Such an approach suggests that Japan's modernization was deeply intertwined with the construction of the nation and, in the words of Marily Ivy, "the articulation of a unified Japanese ethnos with the 'nation' to produce 'Japanese culture.'"[29] The Tokyo Jogakkô, for example, had a hybrid curriculum that combined "Japanese" and western elements. In 1872, Margaret Griffis described the school as "both English and Japanese," with her students devoting half of the day to studying English and the other half to studying Japanese.[30] Together with English, a national Japanese language (*kokugo*) – a modified version of the Tokyo dialect – was promoted at the Tokyo Jogakkô. This was deemed crucial for the development of a national identity to replace domain loyalties.[31] Other courses offered were Japanese history, Chinese history, European history, politics, geography, ethics, hygiene, which were all taught in the Japanese language. In addition, there were courses in reading, grammar, geography, and mathematics, which were taught in English.[32] A similar approach was evident at the Takebashi Girls' School established in Tokyo in 1872 in order to train teachers and interpreters. Hatoyama Haruko (1861-1938), a student in this school around 1873, recalled studying botany, physics, chemistry, zoology, as well as handicrafts, Chinese, and Japanese literature.[33]

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[25] Mishima Sumie, *My Narrow Isle: The Story of a Modern Woman in Japan* (Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1941), 37.

[26] Tsuda Umeko to Adeline Lanman [hereafter Tsuda to Lanman], 13 September 1885, Tsuda-juku Daigaku Archives [hereafter TJDA] (Tsuda College Archives), Tokyo, Japan.

[27] Margaret Clark Griffis to Sisters [hereafter Griffis to Sisters], 30 October 1872, Griffis Collections, Rutgers University Library [hereafter GCRUL], New Jersey. On Margaret Griffis's life in Japan, see Elizabeth K. Eder, *Constructing Opportunity: American Women Educators in Early Meiji Japan* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), 67-82.

[28] On the indiscriminate borrowing in the postal, telegraph, and telephone systems, see D. Eleanor Westney, "Building the National Communication System: Adopting and Adapting Western Organizational Models in Meiji Japan," 39-59.

[29] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4.

[30] Griffis to Sisters, 30 October 1872, GCRUL. Similar emphasis on the use of Japanese and English languages was evident in the activities of the literary society founded by the Kazoku Jogakkô students. They had "literary exercises of all kinds," not only in Japanese and English, but also in Chinese. Letter

Another government school for girls, mainly for the daughters of the nobles and high-ranking government officials, was the Kazoku Jogakkô (known in English as the Peeresses School), which opened in Tokyo in 1885. It was administered by the Imperial Household Ministry, with the Empress as its official patroness. The school's entrance examination included mathematics, natural philosophy, history, geography, and a "little of everything." Regular subjects also included the English language and sewing. Students and teachers wore either "foreign dress" or "ordinary Japanese dress" with a "purple sort of skirt" over it as the school uniform, another example of efforts to promote both western and Japanese ways in schools.[34]

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from Alice Mabel Bacon, 13 June 1889, in Alice Mabel Bacon, *A Japanese Interior* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 215.

[31] Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, 62.

[32] Eder, *Constructing Opportunity*, 73.

[33] The Takebashi Girls' High School closed in 1877. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, 83.

[34] Tsuda to Lanman, 25 September 1885, TJDA.

Furthermore, in 1875 the Joshi Shihan Gakkô (Women's Normal School, currently known as Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku) was built in Tokyo with a five-year course that, like its male counterpart, aimed to train elementary school teachers. Its establishment signaled the government's tacit endorsement of teaching as a legitimate profession for women. It must be noted that teaching was not a new occupation for women in Japan. During the Tokugawa period, women from the samurai and the lower classes founded and taught in private academies (*shijuku*).[35] The Women's Normal School in Tokyo was open to girls and women who were between fourteen and twenty years old, and who had "good moral character."[36] With the new Meiji school system still in its infancy, teachers were badly needed, especially in elementary schools. Between 1873 and 1874 seven normal schools were built by the government throughout the country, in addition to the Women's Normal School in Tokyo.[37] In 1884 the Women's Normal School in Tokyo was transformed into the Women's Higher Normal School (Joshi Kôtô Shihan Gakkô), with an upgraded curriculum designed for those who wanted to teach in ordinary normal schools and girls' schools.[38]

Overall, government efforts to promote women's education during the early Meiji period were notable because they were not just limited to sewing and lessons intended to produce "refined" women, but they also included arts and sciences, as well as training for elementary teaching. Yet, there was a disparity in the goal and the standard of the curriculum given to girls and boys, and in the education opportunities available to both. Opportunity for girls and women to pursue education beyond what was offered by the girls' schools, girls' high schools, and women's normal schools was limited to the Women's Higher Normal School and the Music Academy in Tokyo. Prior to 1900, these were the only institutions that offered them an education beyond the high school level, and the standard in these schools was by no means equivalent to that of the university.[39] In contrast, young men with financial resources who finished the two-year high middle school (*kôtô chûgakkô*) and passed the entrance examination could pursue a university degree.[40] The Imperial University in Tokyo, the highest educational institution, founded in 1877, was exclusive to men. It opened its doors to full-time female students only in 1947.[41] Similarly, in modern France, secondary education for girls did not prepare them for professional careers, unlike the boys' *lycées* and *colleges*. Rather, according to Linda L. Clark, girls' secondary education intended to train "future ladies of the republican bourgeoisie with domestic virtues and social graces as well as with an academic 'general culture.'"[42] Furthermore, girls had a shorter course – five years compared to seven years for boys. Latin was excluded from the girls' curriculum, which made them ineligible to take the examination for the *baccalauréat*, which was needed to enter the university.

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[35] Tocco, "Female education in practice, "193.

[36] Ann M. Harrington, "Women and Higher Education in the Japanese Empire," *Journal of Asian History* 21 (1987): 173.

[37] Monbushô, *Outlines of the Modern Education*, 3. In the 1880s, in order to ensure a steady supply of teachers, Education Minister Mori Arinori instituted a special program that provided free tuition and allowance to students in the higher and prefectural normal schools in return for several years of teaching after graduation. Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 294-95.

[38] Harrington, "Women and Higher Education," 174. In 1908, with the establishment of another women's higher school in Nara, the Women's Higher Normal School in Tokyo was renamed Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School.

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[39] In the U.S., schools like the Iowa State Agricultural College admitted women to the same course as men when it opened in 1869. However, the school's Board of Trustees linked women's education to domesticity. They believed that just as men needed to be trained to become "successful, intelligent, and practical farmers and mechanics," women should be also trained in their duties as wives of farmers and mechanics. Rima Apple, "Liberal Arts or Vocational Training? Home Economics for Girls," in *Rethinking Home Economics*, eds. Sarah Strange and Virginia B. Vincenti (New York: Cornell University, 1997), 80.

[40] On the education of male students who entered the high middle schools (*kôtô chûgakkô*), see Donald Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1980).

[41] Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980) tried to enter the Tokyo Imperial University as a regular student, arguing that the University rulebook specified "a qualified student," and not "a qualified male student." Her application was denied, however. In 1887, a woman was allowed to attend lectures in medicine and another one attended lectures in botany. Sandra Buckley with Sakai Minako, comp., "Chronology of Significant Events in the Recent History of Japanese Women (1868-1991), in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 309; Wakamatsu Shizuko, "The Condition of Woman in Japan," *Jogaku zasshi* 98 supplement, 2 February 1888, 1-6; E. Patricia Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912," *US-Japan Women's Journal* 18, English Supplement (2000): 13.

To summarize the educational opportunities available for Meiji girls and women, those who were between the ages of six to nine were expected to attend the four-year lower elementary course, while those between the ages of ten and thirteen could attend the four-year higher elementary course. Those who were incapable of proceeding beyond the elementary school could lengthen their study in the higher elementary course by one to two years. Girls who could afford to acquire secondary education could enroll in girls' schools (*jogakkô*) with a four-year course or, as they became popular in the 1880s, in girls' high schools (*joshi kôtô gakkô*) that offered a four-year course. The girls' high schools, Chieko Irie Mulhern explains, was usually at the same level as the girls' schools, except that it was public and "more prestigious."[43] Aside from the girls' schools and the girls' high schools, girls and women could also enter women's normal schools (*joshi shihan gakkô*). In turn, graduates from the girls' schools, girls' high schools, and women's normal schools were eligible to enroll in a five-year course at the Women's Higher Normal School (*joshi kôtô shihan gakkô*) in Tokyo. Like the "special colleges" for men that offered law, medicine, and literature, the Higher Normal School for Women offered a slightly higher degree of education than the secondary schools, although it was lower than the university level. Those women who wanted to extend their study beyond the Women's Higher Normal School's regular course offering could take up its supplementary courses of no more than two years.[44]

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[42] Linda L. Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne: Textbooks and the Socialization of Girls in Modern French Primary Schools* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 16.

[43] Chieko Irie Mulhern, "Hani Motoko: The Journalist-Educator," in *Heroic With Grace: Legendary Women of Japan*, ed. Chieko Irie Mulhern (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 213-14.

Furthermore, the girls' high schools had an ambiguous status prior to 1899, which suggests that women's secondary education was not a priority for the government until the late 1890s. Girls' high schools were categorized, according to the Middle School Ordinance of 1886, as a "sort of middle school." It was only in 1899, thirteen years after the government had enacted imperial ordinances for the elementary schools, middle schools, normal schools, and the Imperial University, that a separate ordinance was enacted for girls' high schools. As Kikuchi admitted, the Ordinance on Girls' Higher School (*Kôtô jogakkô rei*) signaled the Meiji government's recognition of girls' high schools "as of sufficient importance to be treated separately."[45] In addition, the miniscule number of public girls' high schools, at least until the late 1890s, suggests the lack of importance the government attached to girls' secondary education. In 1883 there were only seven public girls' high schools in Japan. Over the next ten years, the government added only one girls' school, bringing the number to eight. In contrast, in 1893 there were fifty-nine public boys' middle schools (and 15 private ones) throughout Japan. Until 1899, Japanese private individuals, both Christian and non-Christian, and foreign Christian missionaries played a vital role in promoting girls' secondary education by establishing, as of 1893, twenty private girls' schools.[46]

Notwithstanding the limited education given to girls and women relative to that of boys and men, government initiatives for women's education faced challenges from within and without, which influenced its education offerings for women. Financial constraints, which severely limited the early Meiji education reforms, forced the Education Ministry to close the Tokyo Jogakkô in 1877, as it did with a number of foreign language schools.[47] Challenges to the advancement of women's education went beyond finances, however. Shimoda Utako (1854-1936), principal of the Kazoku Jogakkô, alluded to the detrimental forces at work when she recalled the founding of the school in 1885. She related that it was difficult "to establish the school and please all parties, some wishing to push ahead and some wishing the old-time ways."[48]

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[44] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 86-90.
[45] Ibid., 80, 83.
[46] Ibid., 83, 272; Hoshino Ai, "The Education of Women," in *Western Influences in Modern Japan* , eds. Inazô Nitobe, et. al. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1931), 224.

The debate on women's education was presented, for the most part, as an issue between the "modern" and the "old-time ways." "Modern" here, as Shimoda's comment suggests, meant support for the advancement of women's education, while "old-time ways" meant the opposite. The opposition between "modernity" and "tradition"/"old-time ways" – with the feudal economy, hierarchical relationships, and the military rule of the shoguns defined as "tradition" – was part of the discourse of modernity.[49] It is problematic, however, to characterize the Tokugawa period as being totally against the education of women because Neo-Confucian thought on women's education varied, from arguments that too much education of women was dangerous to the state, to warnings that uneducated women would "undermine the family and the state." In addition, female literacy among samurai daughters was quite high, although, as mentioned earlier, only around ten percent of all girls, in contrast to forty-three percent of all boys, attended school during this period.[50] It is also worth noting that there were samurai daughters who acquired education comparable to that of boys. Such was the kind of education Hatoyama Haruko undertook towards the end of the Tokugawa era. She first learned reading, writing, sewing, and weaving from her mother, followed by lessons on the Chinese classics from local teachers. She was the only girl in her class, but she believed she was the best student.[51]

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[47] Tocco, "School Bound," 121.
[48] Tsuda to Lanman, 30 August 1885, TJDA.
[49] Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2.

Furthermore, there were competing groups, such as the National Learning scholars (*Kokugakusha*), Confucianists, and the Westernizers, which tried to influence the early government reforms, including those for women's education.[52] The 1880s is especially characterized by "heated discussions on educational principles and moral theories" by these groups.[53] The main difference among them was over their varying approaches to reform. For the most part, they shared the same goal to maximize women's contribution to the nation as mothers. For example, Confucian scholar and lecturer to the Emperor Motoda Eifu (1818-1891) argued for a return to the neo-Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety as the bases of education. He decried the decline in public morals that he attributed to the "indiscriminate emulation of Western ways."[54] Consequently, he urged schools to produce "virtuous women" who were loyal and filial to their families, and by extension, to the Emperor. Motoda's argument was based on the assumption that

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[50] Tocco, "Female education in practice," 195, 206; Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 321.

[51] Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko," 82.

[52] The National Learning scholars sought to eliminate the Confucian influence from education and to "revive the rule of the Emperor as they discovered it in the history of Japan." The Confucianists emphasized loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety toward parents as the basis of education. The underlying philosophy of the liberals was "westernizing, utilitarian, and individualistic." Amioka Shiro, "Changes in Educational Ideals and Objectives (From Selected Documents, Tokugawa Era to the Meiji Period)," in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 341-42. On the competing discourse of these groups, see Passin, *Society and Education*, 62-68.

[53] Amioka, "Changes in Educational Ideals and Objectives," 344-45.

[54] Donald Shively, "Motoda Eifu," in *Confucianism in Action*, eds. David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), 304.

"virtuous" women/mothers would produce virtuous sons – a premise that could also be found in the American idea of republican motherhood.[55] The notion of women as mothers was also the underlying message of Mori Arinori (1847-1889) when he declared in 1887 that the success of the state relied greatly on efforts to educate women, who had the duty to bring up "good subjects required by the Empire."[56] Mori was an early exponent of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) and he became Education Minister in 1885.

Parents also influenced the shape and the outcome of government efforts to educate women. There were parents who did not believe that it was necessary to educate their daughters. There were also those who refused to allow their daughters to proceed beyond the four-year ordinary elementary course.[57] It was common for girls to drop out of school after the fifth grade, presumably to augment household income or to look after their younger siblings.[58] Hani Motoko (1873-1957), who attended the elementary school in 1879, noted the declining enrollment of her female classmates after the fifth grade. As a result, their class merged with that of the boys.[59] Teachers also recognized that girls were expected to take care of their younger brothers and sisters. They identified girls' caretaking responsibility as one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory female attendance in schools. In order to address this problem, teachers from northern Japan proposed, during their meeting in Morioka, Iwate Prefecture, in 1897, that girls be allowed to attend class with baby brothers or sisters tucked on their backs.[60] That parents were made to pay for their children's education at least until 1880, when the government ordered the local governments to shoulder the cost of elementary education, further contributed to the privileging of boys' education over that of girls.[61]

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[55] On republican motherhood, see Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 57.

[56] Mori Arinori, "Daisanchihôbu gakuji junshichû no enzetsu" [Speech delivered during a visit to the Daisanchihôbu gaku], Fall 1887, in *Mori Arinori Zenshû* (Tokyo: Senbundo, 1972), 611-12.

[57] "Educational Notes," *The Japan Times*, 3 June 1897, 3; *Shinano Mainichi*, 17 March 1883, cited in Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons: The Culture and History of *Komori* (Nursemaid) in Modern Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 4 (November 1991): 793-817.

[58] Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons," 793-817.

[59] Hani Motoko, "Hansei o kataru," in *Hani Motoko chosakushu* 14 (Tokyo: Fujin no tomosha, 1974), 1-93, translated as "Stories of My Life," in *Heroic With Grace Legendary Women of Japan*, ed. Chieko Irie Mulhern (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 239.

Thus, it is not surprising that despite official government encouragement of compulsory education, attendance of girls in the elementary schools remained much lower than that of boys. In 1877, five years after the promulgation of the Fundamental Code of Education, only 22 percent of girls attended elementary schools, compared with 53 percent for boys.[62] A similar trend of low female enrollment could be seen in France, although the gap between the attendance of boys and girls had narrowed from the 1840s to the 1870s. In Japan, the gap between the attendance of boys and girls remained significant. Attendance of girls in elementary schools increased to 31 percent in 1890, but this was only half of the percentage of boys (65%) who went to school.[63]

Girls who were committed to getting an education and whose families were capable of paying for their tuition fees had to negotiate with opposing family members in order to attend school.[64] Such is the story of Aoki Koto, a student at the Tokyo Jogakkô, who agreed to do all of the household chores in order to appease her aunt and grandmother who were strongly opposed to her school attendance. Aoki's daily routine was long and arduous, and it was only after she had "set the house in order for the day" that she could leave for school. In the evening, she had to finish all the household chores first before she could study, and she was allowed to use the light only until her family went to bed. Most often, according to her former teacher Edward House, "the moon, less cold and distant than those whose name she bore, gave her the light which her kindred denied her." Aoki's story is just one of those stories that demonstrate female strength and perseverance in pursuit of learning.[65] Her story also illuminates some of the difficulties that confronted the government's efforts to promote women's education.

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[60] "Educational Notes," *The Japan Times*, 3 June 1897, 3.

[61] Passin, *Society and Education*, 69-70.

[62] Furuki Yoshiko, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda, Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991), 6. It was not until 1897 that more than 50 percent of girls attended the elementary school. Hirota, "Notes on the 'Process of Creating Women' in the Meiji Period," 207.

[63] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Development of Education*, 32-56, 60-62, cited in Robert K. Hall, *Education for the New Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), 422-23.

[64] There were also parents who were supportive of their daughter's education. For example, Mishima Sumie's grandfather supported her mother's pursuit of high school education. In 1886, at the age of fourteen, Mishima's mother attended the American mission school for girls in Kobe, around eighty miles from her hometown in Okayama. Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 16-17.

The Rhetoric of Educating Girls to Become "Good Wives, Wise Mothers"

Since the 1870s, a main government objective for educating girls was to train them for their future maternal role. This was expounded by Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840-1900), Deputy Director of the Hokkaidô Colonization Office (*Kaitakushi*), who was among the first government officials to publicly declare such a view. Kuroda's argument for women's education was based primarily on the need for mothers of educated men, who he believed were needed to pacify and develop Hokkaidô.[66] Hokkaidô was occupied and annexed as part of Japan after the Meiji Restoration. Kuroda's argument was premised on the belief that intelligent mothers would give birth to intelligent men, who would make ideal settlers.[67]

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[65] Koto Aoki's story is vividly portrayed in a novel written by her teacher at the Tokyo Jogakkô, Edward H. House. See Edward House, *A Child of Japan or The Story of Yone Santo* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1889), 37-38. There were also girls who managed to obtain an education and acquired professional training despite their parents' opposition. Murakami Nobuhiko, *Meiji josei-shi*, vol. 1 [The History of Meiji Women] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1977).

[66] Charles Lanman, ed., *The Japanese in America* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1872), 46.

Kuroda's support for the education of women was not only due to the specific needs of Hokkaidô. He also envisioned educated women/mothers as vital contributors to the Japanese nation. Hence, he recommended that the Meiji government send girls to study in the United States. Kuroda's recommendation was endorsed by Mori Arinori, then Officer-In-Charge of Japanese Affairs in the United States, and Minister of State Iwakura Tomomi. Kuroda's observations of the United States when he passed through on his way home from England in 1871 had convinced him that it was necessary to educate women. When he inquired about the cause of what he saw as the "happy condition" of American women, he was told that it was because "the women of the country were educated, treated with the highest consideration, and are regarded equal to men in all the higher qualities of humanity." Although Kuroda's observations were limited only to the American women he saw, he returned to Japan convinced that it was necessary to educate women. He wrote a letter to the Meiji government endorsing the education of women "so that the coming generation might be enlightened."[68] Like the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American and French rhetoric of Republican motherhood, Kuroda's pronouncement reflected his belief that it was the woman's duty to raise, in the words of Joshi Kôtô Gakkô (Women's Higher School) principal Akitsuki Shintarô, "good and active citizens."[69] This crucial duty of women gave them a "civic role and identity distinct from men, a role essential to the state's welfare."[70]

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[67] Kuno Akiko, *Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993), 51.
[68] Lanman, *The Japanese in America*, 45.

More importantly, the Emperor regarded women's duties as caretakers and educators of their children as primary reasons why women should be educated. He linked women's education to Japan's "enlightenment," presenting educated womanhood and motherhood, in particular, as the foundation of Japan's success as a nation. In November 1871, during the dinner given in honor of the departing members of the Iwakura Mission, the Emperor declared that it was important to educate mothers because they were the ones in charge of bringing up their children. "How important [is] the education of mothers," he declared, "on whom future generations almost wholly rely for the early cultivation of those intellectual tastes which an enlightened system of training is designed to develop." He then gave permission to wives and sisters to accompany their husbands and brothers to the United States and Europe so "they may acquaint themselves with better forms of female education, and on their return, introduce beneficial improvements in training our children."[71] This was a significant move considering the lack of similar government initiatives for women in the previous periods.

Still, government officials were not monolithic in their reasons why it was necessary to educate women. For example, Mori Arinori, who supervised the education of the five girls in the United States beginning in the early 1870s, favored their training for "home life" in general.[72] He did not link their education solely to their future maternal duty, but wanted them to be "fully acquainted with the blessing of home life in the United

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[69] "The Present Condition," *The Japhn Evangelist* III, no. 6, August 1896, 357.
[70] Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 57.
[71] Lanman, *Japanese in America*, 3.
[72] Ibid., 48.

States." The training of girls to develop the skills needed to manage their homes, as expounded by American educational reformers like Catharine Beecher, was the aim of girls' schooling in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century.[73] Mori's thinking was most likely influenced by Rutgers professor David Murray (1830-1905), who stressed the importance of educating women because of their important role in their "proper sphere." In 1872, Mori consulted Murray and other American men regarding the importance of education to Japan's national development.[74]

Mori's view on appropriate education for the five Japanese girls was also shared by their American foster parents. When Reverend Leonard Bacon of New Haven accepted the care and responsibility for Yamakawa Sutematsu and Nagai Shige, he promised to equip them with "knowledge of domestic duties and employment which qualifies an American lady to become the mistress of a family."[75] He assured Mori that his wards would get an education comparable to that of the daughters of "the best New England families." Typical of a middle-class American upbringing, Yamakawa had piano lessons from Nelly, Bacon's daughter. She also participated in the volunteer activities of "Our Society," an elite organization made up of the wives and daughters of prominent families in New Haven.[76] Yamakawa eventually graduated with a bachelor's degree from Vassar College, after which she undertook two months of training at the Connecticut

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[73] Catharine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977). Also see Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity, 1800-1878* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

[74] David Murray, in Mori Arinori, *Education in Japan: A Series of Letters Addressed by Prominent Americans to Arinori Mori* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873), 102-03. In response to Mori's request, Murray and others wrote about the effect of education on the economic, social, moral, and physical conditions of the people, and on laws and the government. From 1873 to 1870, the Meiji government appointed Murray as superintendent of schools and colleges in Tokyo.

[75] Leonard Bacon to Mori Arinori, 31 October 1872, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 77.

[76] Although Leonard Bacon was not as economically well off as the other members of the "Our Society," his family was accepted by the members of this group because he was the minister of the Center Church, which was highly regarded in the town. Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 91.

Training School for Nurses at New Haven Hospital.[77] Nagai studied music at the Vassar College. In contrast to Yamakawa's and Nagai's pursuit of nursing and music, physical sciences and engineering were the common areas of specialization of male Japanese students in the United States during the 1870s.[78]

Beginning in the 1880s, Meiji bureaucrats increasingly linked women's education to their responsibilities as caretakers of their children, as well as companions to their husbands. In 1886, Inoue Kowashi (1843-1895) maintained that women needed to be trained so they could provide their children with a good education by the time they went to school and so they could have companionate marriage with their husbands. Inoue was an influential bureaucrat who became the Minister of Education from 1893 to 1894 and played an important role in the formulation of the Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript of Education. Unlike the earlier pronouncements of Kuroda and the Emperor, Inoue's support for women's education was not intended solely for the children's welfare, but also for the improvement of husband-wife relations.[79] Agriculture and Commerce Minister Count Ôkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) delivered a speech in Osaka in 1897 in which he explained why this was of paramount importance – "domestic happiness and prosperity constituted the basis of national welfare and prosperity."[80]

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[77] Yamakawa was one of the ten valedictorians in her class. She specialized in physics, physiology, and zoology, and also studied other subjects like French, German, Latin, English composition, history, philosophy, chemistry botany, and mathematics. Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 100, 104.

[78] Burks, "The Japan's Outreach: The *Ryûgakusei*," 153.

[79] Inoue Kowashi, "Joshi kyôiku shorei kai kitei narabi ni shuisho" [Prospects of Regulating Female Education Promoting Association], November 1885, Kensei-shiryôshitsu [Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room], National Diet Library [hereafter NDL], Tokyo, Japan.

[80] "The Present Condition," *The Japan Evangelist* III, no. 6, August 1896, 357-58; "Count Okuma in Osaka," *The Japan Times*, 31 May 1897, 3.

Japan's wars against China (1894-1895) and Russia (1904-1905) intensified the government rhetoric on educating women for their motherly and wifely responsibilities.[81] Aside from industrialization, which Nolte and Hastings suggest as a major factor behind the articulation of the state's policy on women, war was an important stimulus to the diffusion of the "good wife, wise mother" ideal.[82] For example, bureaucrats outside of the Ministry of Education, such as Vice-Minister of Justice Kiyoura Keigo, stressed the importance of the *ryôsai kenbo* education because of Japan's war with China. Kiyoura premised his argument for the "good wife, wise mother" education on the belief that women who were trained in domestic duties would bring up healthy future soldiers and would efficiently manage their future households while their husbands were away in the battlefield. This was also the underlying message of Vice-Admiral Kamimura Hikonôjô when he gave a speech at the Tokyo Girls' High School in Mita in January 1905. Kamimura was the commander of the Japanese cruisers that defeated the Russians in the decisive battle in the Korean Strait and the Sea of Japan in August 1904. After recounting the battle of August 1904, he praised the girls for devoting themselves to their studies and declared that he (and his men) and the girls were "equally working for the sake of the country."[83] He urged them to dedicate themselves to "good wife, wise mother" education by equating such efforts to his and his men's heroism as they fought battles at the sea. These government exhortations were reinforced by the "Home" column of the *Taiyô* (The Sun), a general-interest magazine, that valorized the mother's role by linking the home and the battlefield. "Our great country is confronted today by the world's great powers," wrote Sakurai Ōson in 1896. Considering that "the basis of a country is the home,"

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[81] "The Present Condition," *The Japan Evangelist* III, no. 6, August 1896, 357-58.
[82] Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women," 152.
[83] "The Present Condition," *The Japan Evangelist* III, no. 6, August 1896, 357-58.

Sakurai stressed the important responsibility of the mother as the head of the home (*shufu*).[84]

Government officials urged educated women to care for their children and manage their homes as part of their duty to the state. They were regarded as being as valuable as the soldiers, but they were denied their rights as Japanese subjects. Minister of Education Kikuchi Dairoku declared, "we demand…that [women] shall be good wives and wise mothers as a duty they have to perform as Japanese subjects, just as we demand of men that they shall perform their duties in various professions and trades in general as Japanese subjects."[85] Yet, the 1898 Civil Code did not allow the wife to enter into contracts, or buy and sell property without her husband's consent. The wife could be divorced easily, with her husband taking custody of the children. Women did not have the right to vote, and the Police Regulation Law prohibited them from joining political parties and attending political meetings.[86] The ambivalent picture painted, on the one hand, by the high valuation of women's domestic roles and, on the other hand, by the denial of their rights was hardly unique to Japan, however. A similar situation existed in Vichy France (1940-1944) when the government promoted the family as "the most important unit of new France" and elevated married mothers to a "new social status," while at the same time denying them the full exercise of their education, employment, and political rights.[87]

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[84] Sakurai Ôson, "Shokusan kôgyô no kateikyô," *Taiyô* 12, 1896, 228, cited in Muta Kazue, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals: The Paradox Underlying the Emergence of the "Home," trans. Marcella S. Gregory, *Nichi-Bei josei janaru* 7 (*U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*), English supplement (1994): 65, 70n59.

[85] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 255.

[86] Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), 52.

[87] Pollard, *Reign of Virtue*, 1-5.

Education bureaucrats designated the home as the woman's place, although there were teachers who ignored the call for separate spheres. Similarly, in Mark Elwood Lincicome's study, he argues that teachers did not always follow the Education Ministry guidelines.[88] In an 1896 speech by Women's Higher School principal Akitsuki Shintarô, he identified the home as the "destined place" for women, and the bringing up of "good and active citizens" as their main duty.[89] Education Minister Makino Nobuaki, during a local school inspector conference in 1906, also declared that the protection of the family and the education of children were the primary responsibilities of women.[90] Notwithstanding these pronouncements that upheld the primacy of domesticity for women, when Mishima Sumie was in high school around the end of the Meiji period, her schoolmaster hired married female teachers. He allowed the female teachers to miss classes for family reasons and he gave them a long leave when they gave birth. His hiring of and giving "special treatment" to married women teachers suggests his belief in the compatibility of home and paid work for women.[91]

As in the 1930s and 1940s, Meiji Japan's economic and military needs gave rise to what Yoshiko Miyake calls the "doubled expectations" from women as mothers/wives, and as workers.[92] Calls by Education Ministers Kikuchi and Makino that discouraged women from engaging in paid work conflicted with the exhortations of other government bureaucrats who emphasized women's productivity outside their homes.[93] In reality, by 1890 girls and women had become the "backbone of the developing Japanese economy" as they comprised sixty to ninety percent of the textile industry workers.[94] This industry produced ninety percent of Japan's gross national product and sixty percent of its foreign exchange during the late nineteenth century. In addition, one of the authors of the *Shimin*, official magazine of the Central Hôtokukai (Gratitude societies) organized by the Home Ministry, identified selling railroad tickets, serving as telephone operators, and working in stores as employment appropriate to women.[95]

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[88] Mark Elwood Lincicome, "Educational Discourse and the Dimensions of Reform in Meiji Japan," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985). Also see Mark Elwood Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995).

[89] "The Present Condition," *The Japan Evangelist*, Vol. III, no. 6, August 1896, 357.

[90] Komano, "Ryôsai kenboshugi no seiritsu," 134-36, 141.

[91] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 140.

[92] Yoshiko Miyake, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1943*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 267-95.

The reality of life for most women, especially those from the lower class who lived in rural and urban areas, was incompatible with the idea of women being devoted mainly to their homes. They engaged in income-earning activities while they tended to their children and other household work. In the 1870s, it was common to see mothers in the villages cooking and sewing with babies "tucked unto the backs of their dresses," while they sold dried fish and rice cakes (*mochi*) in front of their homes.[96] In the 1890s, many urban lower-class women did piecework (*naishoku*) at home, such as assembling matchboxes, shaving toothpicks, sewing sandal straps, and making Japanese-style socks. Many others assumed paid jobs and left the care of babies to their young children.[97]

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[93] Uno, "Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother," 298. They also conflicted with the factory owners' rhetoric, promoted through company songs, lectures, and texts, for girls to work for the nation. Silk reeling was defined as appropriate work for girls and presented as vital to the national economy, as well as for their family's welfare. E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 92-102.

[94] Nolte and Hastings, "Meiji State's Policy Women," 153.

[95] Ibid., 163, 169.

[96] Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Old Japan* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1973), 47, 73-74, 97.

[97] Kathleen Uno, "One day at a time: work and domestic activities of urban lower-class women in early twentieth-century Japan," in *Japanese Women Working*, ed. Janet Hunter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 51.

Notwithstanding the argument for women to devote themselves to their family, middle- and upper-class women's involvement in charitable and other socio-civic activities was considered socially acceptable for women. They were viewed as compatible with women's domestic roles. During the Russo-Japanese war, for example, the Empress and other female members of the Imperial family, and many upper-class women visited the sick and the wounded, consoled the bereaved families of the soldiers, sent supplies to the battlefield, and organized fund-raising activities.[98] Such works were intended to rally the people to support Japan's war effort. Like the lower-class women's presence in income-earning activities, they challenge the boundary between the public and private realms.[99]

Despite the incompatibility of the ideology of separate spheres with the lives of the majority of women, why was the notion of separate spheres a compelling argument for many education bureaucrats, especially toward the end of the Meiji period? It may be regarded as a way to maintain order and stability in a society that was confronted with what historian Miranda Pollard calls the "blurring of gender" – a "fundamental signifier of disorder" caused by modernism.[100] As in the United States, France, and Great Britain, the reassertion of Japanese women's roles in the home was, in part, aimed to diffuse the tensions and confusion caused by industrialization and urbanization.[101] It mirrored the

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[98] *The Japan Times*, 28 January, 5 and 9 February, 1, 2, and 16 March, 24 May, 12 June, 3,7 and 30 July, 20 and 31August, 17 September, 4, 8, 13 and 15 October, 16 November, 2, 20 and 22 December 1904; 26 May 1905.

[99] Sally A. Hastings, "From Heroine to Patriotic Volunteer: Women and Social Work in Japan, 1900-1945," *Working Paper* 106 (November 1985), n.p.

[100] Pollard, *Reign of Virtue*, 3.

[101] See, for example, Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in Nineteenth Century* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981); Judy Lown, *Women and Industrialization: Gender at Work in Nineteenth-Century England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990); Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Meiji bureaucrats' concerns over the potential effect of working mothers on the education and upbringing of future imperial subjects. Nolte and Hastings maintain that the "good wife, wise mother" policy was not a "call for mothers to return to the home" because it was intended for middle-class women who "by custom remained within the home."[102] Yet, it was against the backdrop of women's engagement in a wide range of work that Kikuchi declared, "man works outside and woman helps at home." He contended that those women who took "man's work," meaning work outside the home, had less respect in society, thereby presenting domesticity as the only acceptable social role for all women.[103]

What kinds of jobs were available for women in late Meiji Japan? Most notable in the early 1900s was the emergence of women as workers in public offices. In 1900, women were hired as assistants at the Tokyo Post Office and Telegraph.[104] In 1903 the National Railroads (*Tetsudôin*) employed its first woman ticket clerk.[105] Overall, in 1906 an estimated nine million women were in the labor force. Most of them worked in agriculture and forestry (65.5%), while others were engaged in commerce, including the hotel and restaurant business (9.9%), domestic service (7.7%), textile industry (6.4%), wood and bamboo products industry (2.0%), clothing industry (1.7), food and beverage industry (1.2%), and other manufacturing and utilities (1.5).[106] Those from the urban areas, in particular, were scavengers of Japanese or western paper and scrap metal, street vendors of fermented beans, sweets, and noodles, hairdressers, laundresses, and proprietors of boarding houses, noodle shops, and tea stores.[107]

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[102] Nolte and Hastings, "Meiji State's Policy Toward Women," 158. Yet, Tamanoi demonstrates that the "good wife, wise mother" rhetoric also figured in the education given to nursemaids (*komori*) and in the perceptions of factory girls and women. Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons," 804-05; Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Japanese Nationalism and the Female Body: A Critical Reassessment of the Discourse of Social Reformers on Factory Women," in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 275-98.

[103] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 268.

[104] *The Japan Times*, 28 December 1900, 3.

[105] Buckley with Minako, comp., "Chronology of Significant Events," 308.

[106] It is not clear if those women who were in the licensed quarters were included here. In 1916, for example, there were 54,049 registered prostitutes. Odaka Kônosuke, "Redundancy utilized: the economics

In the 1920s the phenomenon of "middle-class working women" (*chûryû shokugyo fujin*) also created "profound anxieties" over the welfare of the family and the nation.[108] Calls for Meiji women to take up their "natural" and patriotic duty to bring up and educate their children paralleled the rising urbanization during the early twentieth century.[109] Middle-class women's observations of "cast out" children who played unsupervised in the Tokyo streets all day seem to allude to the "neglect" of children by urban working-class mothers.[110] Like their counterparts in Great Britain, Japanese middle-class social reformers Noguchi Yuka (1866-1950) and Morishima Mine (1868-1936) were concerned over what they saw, and they rescued sixteen "ragged street urchins" from wandering in the streets of Tokyo.[111] In 1900 Noguchi and Morishima opened the Futaba Yôchien in an alley near a notorious Tokyo slum. It was one of the

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of female domestic servants in pre-war Japan," in *Japanese Women Working*, ed. Janet Hunter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 18; Nishimura Mihara, "Baishun mondai ni kansuru chôsa senzen" [Surveys of Prostitution Problem in Prewar Years], *Shakai jigyôshi kenkyû* 8 (November 1980): 112, cited in Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 93, 250n16.

[107] Uno, "One day at a time," 41-42, 44-45.

[108] Around 1920, 3.5 million of an estimated 27 million women were in the labor force. Margit Nagy, "Middle-Class Women During the Interwar Years," 200. In order to regulate women's participation in the labor force, a Factory Law (*Kôjô hô*) was issued in 1911 that limited women and children under twelve years old to work for more than twelve hours a day.

[109] Since the 1890s there was already a general metropolitan housing shortage in Tokyo. Uno, "One day at a time," 52.

[110] Kanzaki Kiyoshi, "Noguchi Yuka," in *Gendai nihon fujin den* (Tokyo: Chûô kôronsha, 1940), 60, cited in Uno, *Passages of Modernity*, 54.

[111] See Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). On "mother-blaming" in late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States, see Molly Ladd-Taylor and Lauri Umansky, eds., *"Bad" Mothers: The Politics of Blame in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

first institutions in Japan that aimed to provide education and care to "poor preschoolers."[112]

Training Girls to Become Good Wives and Wise Mothers

This section examines the Education Ministry's standard curriculum for girls and women in order to illuminate the education bureaucrats' notions of what constituted a "good wife" and "wise mother." It demonstrates state efforts to diffuse feminine ideals from the elementary to high schools and women's normal schools through subjects like sewing, morals, and domestic science.

Sewing

Sewing (*saihô*) was a state instrument for the promotion of domesticity for women, but it had multiple meanings for Education Ministry bureaucrats, teachers, parents, and students. The Ministry of Education sought to promote sewing as a vital component of a woman's responsibilities and as a means to train girls so they could get a job. It was also intended to boost female school enrolment. Parents wanted to provide their daughters with a requisite feminine attribute to increase their prospects for marriage and to provide them with skills so they could work and boost family income. Girls also wanted to earn an income.[113]

When the Education Ministry included sewing in its standard school curriculum beginning in the 1870s, it did not introduce an entirely new feminine ideal. It reinforced society's high valuation of sewing as a vital component of Japanese womanhood. Sewing was part of the Tokugawa female education and feminine ideal. Girls from samurai and non-samurai families learned about sewing, in addition to reading and writing, poetry, Japanese grammar, formal manners (*reigi sahô*), and housekeeping.[114] Peasant girls, according to historian Anne Walthall, practiced sewing in needle shops (*ohariya*) under the supervision of a farm wife skilled in sewing.[115] The daughters of merchants were also encouraged to learn sewing from the age of twelve.[116] Such an importance given to sewing persisted during the Meiji period. Ability to sew was expected from women, and the lack of it could make them unattractive for marriage. In 1883, for example, Tsuda Koto was so worried that her younger sister, Tsuda Umeko, who had just returned to Japan after her eleven-year study in the United States, would not be seen as a good prospective wife that she advised Ume to keep her dislike of sewing to herself.[117]

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[112] Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 47.

[113] Inoue Kowashi to Akitsuki Shintarô [hereafter Inoue to Akitsuki], "Kôtô jogakkô reisetsu ni tsuite no iken" [Opinion on Propriety in Women's Higher School], May 1894, NDL.

Throughout the Meiji period, sewing was promoted as an essential part of women's "proper" and requisite education that prepared them for their ideal future life, which was mainly at home. Sewing lessons in schools, as Kikuchi explained, were designed to enable girls "to manage ordinary household sewing to an appreciable degree." The teaching of sewing lessons to girls was premised on the understanding that "ordinary pieces of clothing of its [households'] members are usually made at home by the mistress or under her directions."[118] This view was not exclusive only to the education bureaucrats, but it was also held by the directors of girls' high schools. A resolution adopted during the conference of the directors of girls' high schools in May 1899 suggests that sewing was intended mainly for family use, or that it would be done at home. It mandated that schools require girls to practice their sewing while sitting on the floor "in conformity to the general practice in their homes."[119]

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[114] Tocco, "Female Education in practice," 206-08.

[115] Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," 45- 46.

[116] "Musuko no shikimoku," *Shiryô-sho* 4 [Collection of Materials on the History of Japanese Education] (Tokyo, 1937), 97-98, cited in Amioka, "Changes in Educational Ideals and Objectives," 335, 353n35.

[117] Tsuda to Lanman, 31 March 1883, TJDA.

[118] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 73, 149, 189.

How important was sewing to the school curricula for girls? Sewing was taught at the elementary schools beginning in the early 1870s. In 1872, the Fundamental Code of Education recognized the existence of special girls' elementary schools (*joji shôgakkô*) that, aside from basic elementary lessons, also provided sewing lessons to girls. At the four-year ordinary elementary school (*jinjô shôgakkô*), girls and boys shared common subjects, such as morals, Japanese language, arithmetic, and gymnastics, with the exception of sewing, which was made optional for girls. Sewing course taught girls the ways to handle the needle and to sew "ordinary pieces of clothing."[120]

Sewing rose in importance in the elementary school curriculum beginning in the mid-1880s. The Elementary School Ordinance in 1886 mandated that sewing be made a required course for all girls in the two-year higher elementary course.[121] In the elementary school attached to the Women's Higher Normal School in Tokyo, for example, sewing became the second most important subject in terms of class hours in 1894. Calligraphy was first (6 hours per week), followed by sewing, arithmetic, history (Japanese) and geography (Japan and foreign) with four hours each. Science and penmanship were in third place with three hours each. Morals lessons were two hours a week, and gymnastics was two hours for girls and three hours for boys. Sewing lessons covered not only needlework, but also knitting and washing. While girls practiced their sewing for four hours, boys spent two hours doing handiwork, such as paper work involving paper folding and cutting. Meanwhile, at the ordinary elementary course, sewing lessons were optional for girls during the third and fourth years. Out of the seven subjects offered during the third and fourth years, sewing was fifth in terms of class hours. Composition and calligraphy had the highest number of class hours per week (6 hours), followed by arithmetic (5 hours), penmanship (four hours), morals (3 hours), gymnastics (3 hours), sewing for girls (2 hours), singing (2 hours), and handiwork for boys (1 hour).[122]

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[119] "Conference of Girls' High School Directors," *The Japan Times*, 14 May 1899, 3.
[120] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 116-17.
[121] Ibid., 80-81.

In the early 1900s, emphasis on the teaching of appropriate subjects for girls and boys, as called for by the 1900 Education Ministry guidelines, upheld the significance of sewing to girls. According to the Education Ministry regulations, sewing lessons in both the ordinary and higher elementary course should train girls to become proficient in cutting and sewing ordinary pieces of clothing, as well as to be frugal and thrifty. At the higher elementary course, girls should be taught not only how to cut and sew, but also how to mend clothes. They should be introduced to the use of different sewing instruments, the different kinds of sewing materials, and the methods to preserve and wash clothes. Instructions on mending and washing encouraged frugality within the household as girls were reminded that "old clothing must be taken to pieces, washed, mended, and sewn together again."[123]

Sewing was also a core component of the Ministry of Education's standard curriculum for girls' high schools in the 1900s. Such curriculum, according to the Imperial Ordinance on Girls' High Schools in 1899, was designed to provide "higher education necessary for women." The Education Ministry regulations mandated that sewing be taught four hours a week from the first to the fourth years, a number of class hours that was second only to Japanese language (6 hours). Other courses included foreign language (English, 3 hours), Japanese history and geography (3 hours), gymnastics (3 hours), morals (2 hours), mathematics (2 hours), science (2 hours), music (2 hours), household matters (taught for 2 hours per week during the third and fourth year), and drawing (1 hour). In 1908, the amended Education Ministry regulations allowed sewing lessons to be increased from four to six hours per week, while foreign language, drawing, and singing were made optional.[124]

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[122] "Joshi kôtô shihan gakkô fuzoku shôgakkô daini bu kyôka katei hyô" [List of Courses for the Elementary School Attached to the Women's Higher Normal School, Second Part], 1894, 55-56, Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Archives [hereafter OJDA], Tokyo, Japan.

[123] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 131, 149, 189; Komano, "Ryôsai kenboshugi no seiritsu," 135-36.

The view of sewing as an ideal for girls and women was held not only by education bureaucrats, but also by local teachers. For example, Yamakawa Kikue, who entered the Tokyo Furitsu Dai Ni Kôtô Jogakkô (Tokyo Prefectural Second Higher Girls' School) after she passed its entrance examination in 1902, recalled her teacher's constant reminder that knowledge of the use of the needle was necessary in order for her to get married and to manage a household. Still, she "hated her sewing class and read hidden books when the teacher was not looking in her direction."[125] Furthermore, school principals such as Akitsuki Shintarô proposed to have shorter class hours for his students at the Women's Higher School in Tokyo. He wanted to ensure that they have sufficient time to apply the skills and knowledge they learned in school in their home life.[126]

Ironically, the emphasis on sewing translated into longer class hours for girls compared to boys, and they stayed in school longer. This was the experience of Mishima Sumie who attended an elementary school in a suburb of Osaka in the early 1900s.

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[124] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 189, 272-74.

[125] Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women," 12.

[126] Akitsuki Shintarô to Inoue Kowashi [hereafter Akitsuki to Inoue], "Joshi kyôiku ni kansuru, Akitsuki Shintarô tôsho" [Concerning Female Education, Reply of Akitsuki Shintarô], 17 May 1894, NDL.

Throughout the six grades, Mishima and the boys in her class were taught the same subjects (reading, writing, arithmetic, sciences, calligraphy, drawing, ethics, social etiquette, and gymnastics), except for sewing, which was taught exclusively to girls beginning in the third grade. Mishima and the other girls in her class had to stay two hours a week after the regular class hours to practice their sewing. She considered this "unfair discrimination," and suggested that "boys should have had classes of some sort while the girls were having sewing lessons so that they should not conceive the idea that men might be idle while women were at work."[127]

The education bureaucrats' and the school curricula's promotion of sewing as a vital part of Meiji women's education was, in part, a response to the clamor of parents and girls for sewing lessons. Either for economic reasons or in order to increase the marriage prospects of their daughters, there were parents who were unhappy over the amount of sewing given in the elementary schools. They sent their daughters to special schools that offered more sewing, or they had them take supplementary sewing lessons.[128] Furthermore, there were girls who were interested in sewing because they wanted to earn some income.[129] Similarly, many young, female textile workers after the turn of the century identified the desire to earn income for personal use and to contribute to the family as reasons why they wanted to work.[130]

In addition, school teachers endorsed sewing as a way to increase female school enrollment. In a teachers' meeting in northern Japan in 1897, teachers identified

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[127] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 30-31.

[128] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 189.

[129] Inoue to Akitsuki, "Kôtô jogakkô reisetsu," NDL.

[130] Izumi Takeo, *The Transformation and Development of Technology in the Japanese Cotton Industry* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1980), 36, cited in Barbara Molony, "Activism Among Women in the Taishô Cotton Textile Industry," 225.

"insufficient sewing lessons" as one of the causes of low female school attendance.[131] With reference to Tamanoi's study of *komori* (those who took care of children), she notes the creation of special elementary classes for the *komori* in Nagano at the turn of the century, which allowed them to attend school while tending to their charges. Such an arrangement was a result of a compromise between the state, the local government, the parents, and employers of the *komori*, and the school teachers.[132]

What kind of work could young girls with some sewing skills do? They could seek employment in the clothing industry, which employed 1.7 percent of an estimated nine million gainfully employed women and girls in 1906.[133] The textile factory, which employed 6.4 percent of these nine million women, was another potential workplace for these girls, although sewing was not a required skill for those who entered the silk-reeling and cotton-spinning factories. Most of them learned the needed skills, such as reeling techniques, in the mills.[134] The result of the Social Bureau survey in Tokyo in 1925 also points to sewing at home as a potential work for those with sewing skills. Out of the 41,000 female pieceworkers (almost 90 percent of whom were married), 6,280, the largest group, did hand sewing at home. Machine sewing (2,638), knitwear finishing (2,750), and sandal-thong stitching (4,524) could also employ girls with sewing skills.[135]

Education bureaucrats like Inoue Kowashi maintained that sewing not only served the needs of the family.[136] Inoue was an exponent of practical learning (*jitsugaku*) and promoter of technical industrial education during the Meiji era. He had dual expectations of women – as income-earners and, as discussed in the previous section, as managers of their homes. In 1894, then Education Minister Inoue wrote to Akitsuki advising him to teach practical skills, such as sewing, to his students at the Women's Higher School. Inoue also recommended increased class hours for sewing. In contrast to his endorsement of sewing for girls, he discouraged Akitsuki from offering lessons in flower arrangement and knitting because they were just a waste of time for girls and it was expensive to prepare the needed materials.[137]

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[131] "Educational Notes," *The Japan Times*, 3 June 1897, 3.

[132] Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 70-71.

[133] Odaka, "Redundancy utilized," 18.

[134] Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 47, 89. 93-94.

[135] Uno, "One day at a time," 42.

[136] Inoue was instrumental in the establishment of the Institute for Technical School Teachers. He also supported the enactment of the Government Subsidy Act for Industrial Education (1894), and the regulation for apprentices' schools (July 1894). For in-depth discussion of Inoue Kowashi's ideas and contributions,

Inoue's endorsement of practical skills like sewing was most likely intended to train daughters so they could augment the household income. In the 1880s, Finance Minister Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924) adopted a series of taxation and deflationary policies in order to finance Japan's modernization projects. Such policies caused numerous agrarian riots and made one hundred thousand households bankrupt.[138] Against this backdrop, Christian schools for girls like the Harrison Memorial School also aimed to provide girls from the lower-class with training in "marketable skills," such as sewing.[139] Furthermore, Inoue's promotion of sewing for girls was most likely informed by the conditions throughout the 1890s, especially the shortage of skilled factory workers due to the expanding operations of silk factories.[140] Inoue was probably thinking of this potential market for girls with some sewing skills.

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see Joseph Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi, 1834-1895, and the Formation of Modern Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* XX, nos. 3-4 (1965): 253-82.

[137] Inoue to Akitsuki, "Kôtô jogakkô reisetsu," May 1894; Inoue to Akitsuki, "Joshi kyôiku ni kansuru go soku" [Five Questions Regarding Women's Higher School], 7 May 1894, NDL.

[138] Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, trans. Marius B. Jansen (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 155.

[139] Karen Sue Engelman, "A Japanese Missionary School for Girls: Women's Spirituality in the Process of Modernization," (Ed. D. thesis, Columbia University Teacher's College, 1990), 4.

[140] Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, 73.

Morals

Training in morals (*shûshin*) was another state instrument for the propagation of the values of loyalty and filial piety, and for assigning specific duties to women as caretakers of children and the elderly, and the household in general. Moral education became ascendant beginning in the 1880s with the "rising tide of cultural nationalism" that resulted in the reassertion of the neo-Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety.[141] With the revised Education Ordinance of 1880, Education Minister Kono Togama placed moral training on top of the curriculum.[142] Furthermore, in 1881 the "Memorandum for Elementary School Teachers" (*Shogakkô kyôin kokoroe*) was issued, instructing the teachers to emphasize moral education, especially the virtues of loyalty to the Emperor, love of country, filial piety toward parents, and respect for elders.[143] In 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education also established loyalty and filial piety as the guiding principles of the Meiji education system.[144] Japan was presented as a family-state (*kazoku-kokka*), with the Emperor as the head of the Japanese family. The reassertion of these values was, for the most part, intended to maintain social order and stability as Japan underwent what historian Donald Shively calls "the stress of rapid change" brought about by westernization.[145] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Tokugawa officials similarly promoted filial piety as a virtue, especially for the commoners

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[141] Hane, *Modern Japan*, 104.

[142] Ardath W. Burks, "The Role of Education in Modernization," in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 260-61.

[143] *Shogakkô kyôin kokoroe*, in *Shiryô-sho*, vol. 5, 332-42, cited in Amioka, "Changes in Educational Ideals and Objectives," 344, 355n59.

[144] Hane, *Modern Japan*, 184.

[145] Shively, "Motoda Eifu," 200-201.

(peasants, merchants, artisans), in order to maintain the stability of the *ie* (household), which was shaken by economic changes.[146]

Although filial piety was promoted as an important virtue for both Meiji women and men, women seemed to be the primary target, mostly because of their potential role as educators of children and as caretakers of the sick and the elderly. The significance attached to filial piety for women could be gleaned from the experience of Hani Motoko. Around 1884 the Ministry of Education recognized Hani for her excellent academic performance in the elementary school, and her prize, to her disappointment, was a copy of the Chinese classic, *Xiao Jing* (Book of Filial Piety).[147] Furthermore, prefectural governors rewarded girls and women for their filial acts. Meiji newspapers carried stories about exemplary girls and women – models of devotion and service to their sick parents and aging parents-in-law.[148] These well-publicized awards were mostly for girls and women, unlike during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Tokugawa officials' awards for filial acts were gender-neutral.[149] For example, there was the fifteen-year-old Wakayama Riki from the village of Totsuka in Tokyo, who was rewarded by the Tokyo governor in June 1900 with a "diploma of praise" and a sum of money.[150] From the age of six, Wakayama devoted herself to nursing her sick mother and serving as a

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[146] Commercial developments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries caused some commoners to acquire wealth, while others disappeared. Sugano Noriko, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety in Tokugawa Japan: Sons and Daughters in the Official Records of Filial Piety," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 171.

[147] Hani, "Stories of My Life," 242.

[148] *The Japan Times*, 8 December 1900, 3; 20 December 1900, 3; 30 December 1900, 3. Similar stories appeared in the *Shimin* (The Citizen), the official magazine of the Central Hôtokukai (Gratitude Societies), an organization supported by the Home Ministry. *Shimin* 2, no. 6, September 1907, 60-64, cited in Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy on Women," 165.

[149] In these awards given by the Tokugawa officials, "filial piety" was an overarching virtue that included seven acts, including performing memorial services for ancestors, preservation of the *ie* household, sustenance and care of parents, parent-in-law, or younger siblings, and dedication to family occupation. Sugano, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety," 179-81.

[150] "Girl that was Officially Rewarded," *The Japan Times*, 2 June 1900, 3.

"little housekeeper" and "kitchen maid," while her father pulled the *jinrikisha* for a living. After her mother's death, Wakayama did piecework at home in order to help her father. Despite her household responsibilities, she somehow managed through the help of her parents to learn how to read and write. Wakayama was a perfect model of filial piety, with her devotion to the management of her home and caring for the sick, her self-sacrifice, and her industry.

Furthermore, the Education Ministry's morals textbooks endorsed certain gender roles and the centrality of marriage. For example, an early 1900s morals textbook for the second grade ordinary elementary school portrayed boys as prospective soldiers or sailors, while girls were presented as future wives and mothers.[151] Lessons for the fourth grade covered civic duties, such as the "duties of a man and woman," which pertained mainly to the responsibilities of husbands and wives.[152] Referring to her own class in the 1890s, Yamakawa Kikue, who entered a public elementary school at Kôjimachi in Tokyo around 1896, recalled listening to the "boring accounts of what one must do to become a bride and why one must never divorce."[153]

Morals lessons established a clear boundary between the home and the outside world, although, as Kikuchi clarified, the idea of separate spheres did not necessarily imply an inferior position for women. The Education Ministry's manual for elementary school teachers directed teachers to explain to their students that "your fathers are engaged in some pursuits" as in the affairs of the community, while "your mothers are engaged in tending your grandfathers and grandmothers, in bringing up children, in looking after the food and clothing of the household." It presented as distinct the responsibilities of husband and wife, and both genders were reminded "not to forget his or her proper sphere." Both husband and wife were "lords of creation," and, according to Kikuchi, "it is a great mistake to suppose that woman is inferior to man." The inclusion of the "duties of man and woman" under the lessons on civic duties also suggests that women – as child bearers, as caretakers of future children and the elderly, and of the households – could contribute significantly to the nation.[154]

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[151] These textbooks were compiled by a special commission appointed by the Education Ministry. Accompanying the textbooks for students were guide books for teachers that contained explanations for each lesson. Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 150-51, 156.

[152] Other topics under "civic duties" were "the great Japanese empire," "loyalty to the Emperor," "benevolence," "military service," and "taxes. Ibid., 158.

[153] Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women," 10.

In high schools, the Ministry of Education's standard syllabus on morals lessons included instructions on deportment and manners (*sahô*) that promoted women's "appropriate" behavior. These lessons suggest an adherence to the spirit of the Meiji government's selective approach to reform, although many of them were irrelevant to the lives of women who belonged to the lower class. For example, side by side with lessons on traditional Japanese ways of how to sit properly on the *tatami* mat were instructions on "modern conditions of living, dressing, and eating." There were also "practical lessons" on walking, sitting and standing, offering and accepting gifts, as well as reminders of the things that need to be observed when sleeping, eating, and dressing, and how to act during joyous and sorrowful occasions. Kikuchi alluded to a selective approach to the teaching of etiquette to girls when he stressed the importance of providing "such an education to the rising generation of women as will enable them to advance in line with men under the new conditions of things, and, at the same time, to appreciate all that is valuable and worthy to be preserved in the old ideals."[155] The

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[154] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 159.
[155] Ibid., 159, 277, 268-69.

Education Ministry syllabus presented these lessons as useful "for all occasions," but instructions on the proper order through which the "numerous dishes served at once in a Japanese dinner" should be eaten was hardly a part of the daily existence of lower-class women in both urban and rural Japan.[156]

Domestic Science

Domestic science (*kaseigaku*), which was part of the training given in the Women's Normal School and in high schools, designated women's responsibilities as wives and as mothers. For example, the Women's Normal School in Tokyo, a model for female normal schools in Japan, aimed to train elementary school teachers. Its curriculum offered sewing and domestic science, which were essential components of the "good wife, wise mother" education. Similarly, in early twentieth-century France the curriculum of a three-year course in the normal schools for women included not only academic subjects and pedagogical techniques, but also "manual works," which covered sewing and home economics, as well as childcare.[157] After the Tokyo Women's Normal School was established in 1875, its curriculum initially offered domestic science, which covered childrearing, under the course on economics (*keizai*). Economics was taught at the fifth level of the seven-level course. Other subjects included geography, history, mathematics, literature, morals, practical arts, music, physics, natural history, physical education, and calligraphy. In 1879 domestic science was taught as a separate course during the fourth year (1 hour a week). Students also learned about sewing (2 hours), morals (2 hours), physiology (4 hours), physics (4 hours), literature (5 hours), music (3 hours), and gymnastics (3 hours).[158]

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[156] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 38.

[157] Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne*, 17.

A more defined and extensive course content geared to train girls in managing their future homes and taking care of their children emerged at the Women's Normal School beginning in 1880. Domestic science was offered during the second year, with more class hours than in previous times (1hour a week on the first term and 2 hours a week on the second term). It included instructions about proper nutrition, food and water sanitation, as well as the ways to manage household expenditures and to provide the best home environment for the family. Meanwhile, sewing was taught during the first two years, with the same number of hours as in 1879 (2 hours a week), and with instructions about "common clothes," cotton clothes, and weaving. In the 1890s the scope of domestic science expanded, covering cooking, bookkeeping, childcare, and etiquette. Sewing, formerly offered as a separate course, was placed under domestic science. The formation of this new extensive domestic science course signaled the beginning of a more unified training for the "good wife, wise mother." It was offered in the three departments – arts (*bunka*), science (*rikka*), and technology (*gijutsuka*) – that comprised what was called, after 1890, the Women's Higher Normal School. Lessons for those who majored in the arts included sewing, sanitation, childcare, and household management. Those under the science department were given similar lessons as the arts students, in addition to health.

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[158] "Tokyo joshi shihan gakkô, dai san nempô" [Third Year Annual Report of Tokyo Women's Normal School], 1877; "Tokyo joshi shihan gakkô, dai roku nempô" [Sixth Year Annual Report of Tokyo Women's Normal School], 1878-1879, OJDA.

Technology students were given all the lessons of the arts students, together with knitting, cooking, and caregiving.[159]

Aside from its regular course on domestic science, the Women's Higher Normal School in Tokyo also offered a special course in household economy. An 1897 newspaper advertisement for this course called for girls and women between the ages of seventeen and thirty to take an entrance examination that covered household business (washing, dressmaking, cooking), as well as arithmetic, Japanese history, sciences (natural history, physics, chemistry), Japanese language (reading, grammar, composition), and general geography. This advertisement presented domesticity as knowledge not limited solely to housekeeping. It encompassed other subjects such as arithmetic and the sciences. Applicants were also required to undergo a physical examination.[160]

As in the Women's Higher Normal School, girls' high school curricula paid particular importance to domestic matters (*kaji*) in terms of class hours. For example, in 1894 the Joshi Kôtô Gakkô's (Women's Higher School) six-year course offering allotted the largest amount of class time – five hours a week from the third to the sixth year – to domestic matters. It covered sewing, etiquette, cooking, habitation, household management, childrearing, and caregiving. Second to domestic matters was national (Japanese) language (*kokugo*, 3 hours a week), and the English language (3 hours a week during the third year, and two hours a week from the fourth to the sixth year). Other subjects, such as morals, mathematics, science, geography, history, writing, drawing, singing, and gymnastics, had two hours a week each. This kind of instruction was provided to Women's Higher School students well into the end of the Meiji period.[161]

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[159] "Tokyo joshi shihan gakkô dairoku nenpô [Tokyo Women's Normal School, 6th Annual Report], 1879, 16-18, 20; "Tokyo Joshi shihan gakkô kisei" [Regulation of the Tokyo Women's Normal School], 1880-1883, 14-15; "Joshi kôtô shihan gakkô ichiran" [An Overview of the Women's Higher Normal School], 1892, OJDA.

[160] "Notes," *The Japan Evangelist* IV, nos. 10 and 11, July-August 1897, 324.

In 1899 the Ordinance for Girls' High School was promulgated, defining the goal of female secondary education as to provide "higher general education necessary for women." For the first time, every prefecture was required to establish a girls' high school, which increased the number of public high schools and significantly boosted female enrollment in these schools. In 1902, for example, there were seventy-two public high schools for girls with an enrolment of 19,185. This was a marked improvement from the twenty-five public high schools for girls with an enrolment of 6,060 in 1898.[162] The ordinance also regulated the way girls' high schools were administered, from the basis for admission and graduation to the number of teachers, course content, and hours allotted for each course.

Despite the importance given to girls' high school education, a comparison of the Ministry of Education's standard curriculum for girls' high schools and its supposed counterpart, the boys' middle schools, in the early 1900s reveals an unequal standard and different curricular emphasis. Although girls' high schools and boys' middle schools had common subjects, such as Japanese language, foreign language, morals, history and geography, mathematics, drawing, singing (music for girls), and gymnastics, there were significant differences in the number of class hours and the course content. These differences were premised on beliefs such as that girls were not as mentally capable as boys, and they did not need extensive study, especially in science and mathematics.[163] Gendered assumptions, such as girls need to be trained mainly for domestic work and boys must be prepared for political and economic pursuits, underlay the teaching of subjects like domestic matters and sewing solely to girls, and law, economics, physics, and chemistry only to boys. From the first to the fourth year, girls studied mathematics two hours a week, while boys had a four-hour a week class in the same subject. Girls studied general science two hours each week, while boys studied natural sciences (2 hours a week), and physics and chemistry (3 hours a week during the first term, and 4 hours a week during the third term). In the morals class, both girls and boys were taught the virtues of loyalty and filial piety, but the class for girls was an hour longer (2 hours a week) than that for boys. Unlike boys, girls had to learn about deportment and manners (*sahô*), an important component of morals lessons for girls. In addition, foreign language offerings for boys were extensive, including English, French, and German, while that for girls was mainly English. Among the girls' schools, only the Kazoku Jogakkô (Peeresses' School) taught both English and French. Clearly, the vision that women would be preoccupied with the household, while men would be engaged in various pursuits outside the home shaped this limited course offering for women.[164]

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[161] "Joshi kôtô shihan gakkô fuzoku kôtô joshi gakkô katei hyô" [Regular Curriculum for Women's Higher School attached to the Women's Higher Normal School], 1894, 46; "Joshi kôtô shihan gakkô fuzoku kôtô joshi gakkô katei oyobi kyôju jisu" [Curriculum as well as Teaching Time for Women's Higher School attached to the Women's Higher Normal School], 1905, 83-84.

[162] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 280.

How was the Education Ministry's gendered standard curriculum for girls' high schools applied in the classrooms? Autobiographical accounts of women illuminate what Ishimoto Shizue (1897-2001) called a "distinct difference" in the actual teaching practices in girls' high schools and boys' middle schools.[165] Ishimoto, who entered a girls' high school in Tokyo after she graduated from the Peeresses' School in 1909, related how boys were "taught and trained to be great personalities," while girls were trained mainly to become "obedient wives, good mothers, and loyal guardians of the family system." Although Ishimoto and her classmates studied arithmetic, algebra, physics, chemistry, national and foreign geography and history, they were "only allowed to peep into the world of science and did not spend much time or energy" on the other Education Ministry-approved subjects. Instead, they devoted themselves to practicing writing Japanese characters and pronouncing Chinese ideographs. Sewing, embroidery, and cooking also kept Ishimoto and her female classmates "quite busy."[166]

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[163] In addition, it was deemed appropriate for female students to be marked based on daily work, not on examinations. They were believed to be emotional and could easily get excited, thus examinations would harm their moral and physical development: Ibid., 272.
[164] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 208, 274.

Indeed, an examination of the Ministry of Education's standard curriculum and teaching guide syllabus in the early 1900s reveals the special place sewing and domestic science occupied in girls' high school education. From the first to the fourth year, sewing had the second highest number of class hours (4 hours per week), second to Japanese language (6 hours per week). Third in terms of class hours were the courses in the English language, gymnastics, and Japanese history and geography (3 hours a week each). Fourth were in morals, science, mathematics, and music (2 hours a week each). Drawing was last with one hour a week. As for domestic matters, it was allotted two class hours per week during the third and fourth year. Although this number was less than what was offered by the Women's Higher School in 1894 (five hours a week), its course content, as laid out in the Education Ministry's teaching guide syllabus issued in 1903, was extensive as will be shown below.[167]

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[165] Eder argues that during the 1870s and 1880s there seems to be some diversity in curricular content because teachers substitute teaching materials when the recognized textbooks were deemed to be unsuitable to local conditions. Eder, *Constructing Opportunity*, 73.
[166] Ishimoto Shizue, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 53-56.

Third-year lessons on domestic matters focused on the basic necessities of life – clothing, food, and habitation. They introduced the notion of scientific wifehood and promoted the idea of a "good wife" as someone who practiced "scientific housekeeping." As in the late nineteenth-century United States, hygiene and sanitation figured prominently in these lessons.[168] Under the topic on habitation, for example, girls were advised regarding the choice of the site on which to build a house, how to select furniture, utensils, and ornaments, and everyday household maintenance involving light, warmth, ventilation, cleaning, and sweeping. Lessons about food included lectures on safe drinking water and water contamination, and the ways to secure "good [drinking] water." Instructions were also given regarding the ways to handle raw food.[169]

Efficient and practical housekeeping was another essential quality of a "good wife." For example, the topic on food included "practical lessons" on cooking, such as boiling, roasting, steaming, and making soups, and instructions on how to make a menu.[170] Yet, many urban working-class women could hardly find any use for these cooking instructions because their families' dwellings did not have cooking facilities, windows, or water supplies. Also, how could the lessons on how to make menus be useful to working women who hardly had the time to cook their meals? Instead, many bought leftover rice and side dishes from vendors or from dining halls and restaurants.[171]

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[167] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 273-74.
[168] Nancy Tomes, "Spreading the Germ Theory: Sanitary Science and Home Economics, 1880-1930," in *Rethinking Home Economics*, eds. Sarah Strange and Virginia B. Vincenti (New York: Cornell University, 1997), 34.
[169] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education.*, 278.
[170] Ibid., 278.
[171] Uno, "One day at a time," 52, 55.

A practical approach to housekeeping called for a kind of cooking that combined "ordinary food," which included items that made up the traditional Japanese diet like rice, bean curd, bean paste (*miso*), and soy sauce (*shôyu*), and "new food," such as beef that was believed to be good for the body.[172] Eating beef was popularized during the Meiji era and it was considered a symbol of Japan's modernized state.[173] The high school curricula's promotion of beef as part of a healthy diet was not just a symbolic gesture, however. It may be regarded as the government's way to remedy the students' "defective diet." Education Ministry Councilor Terada's report in 1897 identified "defective diet" as one of the causes for the poor health condition of many students.[174]

Frugality was another essential virtue of the "good wife." Lessons about clothing covered not only the choice of clothing material, but also the ways to make, preserve, and wash clothes.[175] An argument that promoted a frugal way of life was compelling given the inflation in the 1880s and the huge cost of Japan's wars against China and Russia in the mid-1890s and early 1900s. The curricular emphasis on frugality paralleled the Meiji government's campaign for the cultivation of thrifty habits, such as saving in banks and post offices, and for the adoption of a frugal way of living.[176] In addition, an education that promoted frugality and thrifty habits, especially among girls, helped lay the groundwork for the Japanese government's household savings campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s and in the postwar era, campaigns that drew primarily upon the housewives.[177]

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[172] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 278- 279; Nitobe, *Reminiscences of Childhood*, 9.

[173] On their first experience eating beef and the significance that their families attached to it, see Nitobe, *Reminiscences of Childhood*, 6-9, and Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto, *A Daughter of the Samurai* (Rutland, Vt.: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1966). Meiji comic writer and journalist Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894), in his famous satirical work, *Aguranabe* about the Japanese love for western things, illustrated the importance of eating beef. He portrayed his typical "enlightened" man as someone who "reeks with eau de cologne," had a silk umbrella at his side, wore a cheap watch, and had a steaming bowl of beef in front of him. Kôsaka Masaaki, *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Japan*, trans. David Abosch (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1969), 56-57. On the meanings of beef-eating, see M. William Steele, "The Emperor's New Food," in *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London: Routledge, 2003), 122-32.

[174] *The Japan Times*, 10 June 1897, 2.

[175] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 278.

[176] "Extravagance in the Provinces," *The Japan Times*, 30 May 1900, 3; "A Thrifty Community," *The Japan Times*, 25 December 1900, 2; "Encouraging Thrifty Habit," *The Japan Times*, 3 September 1901, 2.

While the third-year lessons on food, clothing, and shelter focused on the vital qualities of a "good wife," fourth-year lessons on domestic matters clearly laid out the three responsibilities of women as wife and mother: care for the elderly and children, nursing and prevention of infectious disease, and domestic management and economy.

Lessons on domestic matters presented elderly care as the responsibility of a "good wife," but scholars often ignore this important component of wifehood. In fact, school curricula, as well as newspapers, contributed to the emerging gendering of elderly care during the Meiji period. In contrast, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Tokugawa *bakufu* officials' awards for filial piety (*kôkô*), which included care for sick and elderly parents and parents-in-law, were for both men and women.[178] During the late Meiji period, fourth-year high school domestic science lessons gave instructions only to female students on how to assist the elderly when sitting and standing, and how to provide mental comfort.[179] Care of the elderly was deemed necessary in a society where wives commonly entered their husbands' household upon marriage and were expected to faithfully serve their parents-in-law. In 1888, perhaps recognizing this difficult task of wives, Mori urged girls to "bear bravely and sacrificially with their [future] mothers-in-law."[180]

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[177] Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 126-129, 157-172.

[178] Sugano, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety in Tokugawa Japan," 173-85.

[179] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 278,

[180] Mori Arinori, "Kyûshû junkaigunkuchô ni taisuru enzetsu" [Speech delivered for Gun District Manager in Kyûshû], February 1887, in *Mori Arinori Zenshû* (Tokyo: Senbundo, 1972), 497; Mori Arinori, "Tokyo kôtô jogakkô sotsugyô shôsyô juyoshiki ni okeru enzetsu" [Speech delivered during the Graduation Ceremony at Tokyo Kôtô Jogakkô], 20 July 1888, in *Mori Arinori Zenshû*, 497, 626-28.

Yet, outside the school curriculum there were divergent views on the importance of a wife's duty to her parents-in-law. In the 1870s, Nagano local newspapers published numerous "fine episodes" (*bidan*) of peasant women who dedicated their lives to their children and did their best to send their children to school. This marked a shift, according to Tamanoi, from the eighteenth-century "Confucian discourse on women" that focused more on the woman's duty to her parents-in-law, including care of them when they get old.[181] Still, newspapers in the 1900s continued to promote the idea of a woman caring for both her parents-in-laws and her own children. *The Japan Times*, for example, published stories mostly of girls and women who were exemplary models of filial devotion to their sick and aging parents-in-law, and caring mothers to their children.[182] One example was Kondo Bun, a forty-five-year old widow from Koishikawa-ku, Tokyo who supported her family by selling *sushi*. Aside from tending to her young son, she also took care of her blind mother-in-law with "as much tenderness and care as she showed her own son."[183]

Caring for children was another important duty assigned to the mother. Informed by the western notion of the superiority of infant care by the biological mother,[184] school lessons on domestic matters presented childrearing as a mother's sole responsibility. Under the topic on the care of children, instructions were given about lactation, teething, food, clothing, habitation, bathing, exercise, sleep, sickness, speech and action or demeanor, conversations (stories), play and toys, and school attendance.[185] These domestic science lessons in the Meiji era placed childcare at the center of the mother's responsibilities. In contrast, during the Tokugawa period many elite households hired wet nurses (*uba*) to take care of their children, working parents in the towns and villages entrusted the care of their babies to young girls or to their own daughters and sons (*komori*), and fathers from the samurai, peasants, and merchant classes took part in bringing up their children.[186]

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[181] *Gekkei shinshi*, 13 January 1879; *Shinpi shimbun*, no. 3, 1873, cited in Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism*, 68-69, 217n19,n20.
[182] *The Japan Times*, 11 February 1900, 3; 21 February 1900, 3.
[183] "Truly Exemplary Woman," *The Japan Times*, 11 February 1900, 3.
[184] Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 19.
[185] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 278.

The idea of women being engaged mainly in the care of their children was often incompatible with the lives of the majority of Meiji women, especially lower-class urban women and those in average and poor rural households who could not afford to dedicate themselves solely to reproductive work.[187] Accounts, such as those by travelers, reveal that child tending was by no means limited to the mother during the Tokugawa, Meiji, and even Taishô periods. In the 1870s it was common to find boys and girls who took care of their younger siblings, and of girls from working families in the villages and small towns who were hired to take care of toddlers. Grandparents also helped take care of the children, a practice that persisted during the Taishô era. In the early 1900s rural patriarchs like Matsuura Isami were actively involved in raising children and supervising their education.[188] In addition, Meiji and Taishô magazines, which catered to urban middle-class families, promoted the idea of fathers being actively involved in raising their children.[189]

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[186] Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 19; Uno, "One day at a time," 51; Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," 30-34; Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons," 794-99; Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women," 45.

[187] Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," 38.

[188] Bird, *Unbeaten* Tracks, 47, 83, 75, 147, 351; Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 19, 28-30. On child tending by young children (*komori*), see Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons," 793-817; Gail Lee Bernstein, "Matsuura Isami: A Modern Patriarch in Rural Japan," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002), 139.

In high schools, which seemed to be intended mainly to girls and women from the higher classes, lessons on domestic matters presented mothers as indispensable to their children's growth and education. It was deemed necessary for the new breed of mothers to know the "scientific method of childrearing" (*kagakuteki ikujihô*). They were no longer just ordinary mothers, but "scientific mothers." For example, under the topic on nursing and prevention of infectious diseases, girls were taught how to handle emergencies, how to prevent and cure infectious diseases, and how to clean and disinfect wounds.[190] Such lessons reflected the views of education bureaucrats that the "latest [western] scientific knowledge and practice," rather than "those inherited unquestionably [sic] from the past," should provide the basis of "correct childrearing practices."[191] These views were by no means limited to the bureaucrats, however. As Narita Ryûichi points out, neighborhood hygiene associations, schools, and the mass media contributed to the transmission of "new hygienic awareness and practices" in Japan at the turn of the century. Mothers from the middle and upper classes, such as those who made up the Ueda Fujin Danwa-kai (Ueda Women's Social Club) founded in Ueda in Nagano in 1871, disseminated ideas about hygienic practices and scientific knowledge of childrearing.[192] Japanese physicians, like their counterparts in the United States, also endorsed the adoption of the "true principles of childrearing" (*makoto no ikujihô*) based on scientific methods.[193] Just as the early twentieth-century women in Canada were instructed in the scientific ways of mothering in order to have a strong and healthy population,[194] Meiji women were also urged to produce strong and healthy children – essential resources for an industrializing country and a new military power like Japan.

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[189] Harald Fuess, "Home, the School and the Middle Class: Paternal Narrative of Childrearing in *Fujin no Tomo*, 1908-1926," in *Gender and Modernity: Rereading Japanese Women's Magazines*, eds. Ulrike Wohr, Barbara Hamill Sato, and Suzuki Sadami (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1998), 69-84.

[190] Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 278.

[191] Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy," 169

[192] The notion of "scientific method of childrearing" (*kagakuteki ikujihô*) also informed the discourse on the education of the *komori*. Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons," 803-04; Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism*, 72-74.

The curricular emphasis on the "scientific ways" of raising children, similar to the western concept of "scientific motherhood" that emerged in North America in the nineteenth century,[195] paralleled the Meiji government's interest in maintaining household sanitation and hygiene. Public health concerns took center stage in Japan beginning in the late 1890s. Reports about Japan's sanitary condition noted the establishment of disinfecting stations, laboratories, and vaccine stations in Tokyo, as well as the Sanitary Bureau's proposal for a sanitary regulation over the inspection of drinks and food materials sold in Japan.[196]

Finally, as the lessons on household management and economy suggest, a "good wife" was an efficient manager of the home and the domestic economy. Instructions were given on how to estimate income and expenditure, necessary expenses and waste, savings, and insurance, do methods of bookkeeping, and arrange books. There were also lessons on the hiring and treatment of servants, which were similar with the samurai daughters' training in "domestic managerial roles that often involved household arrangements and large number of servants."[197] Both the Tokugawa education for samurai girls and the Meiji education for girls and women were premised on the assumption that girls would marry into households that were financially capable of hiring servants.

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[193] Segawa Shôki, "Makoto no ikujihô," *Shimin* 4, 28 May 1909, 61, cited in Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy," 169; Rima D. Apple, "Constructing Mothers: Scientific Motherhood in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Mothers and Motherhood: Readings in American* History, eds. Rima D. Apple and Janet Golden (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1997), 90; Narita Ryûichi, "Mobilized from Within: Women and Hygiene in Modern Japan," trans. Julie Rousseau, in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1999), 261-63.

[194] Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

[195] Apple, "Constructing Mothers," 90-110.

[196] "Sanitation in Japan," *The Japan Times*, 14 December 1898, 3; "Inspection of Drinks and Food Materials," *The Japan Times*, 5 May 1899, 3.

Conclusion

Historians have shown the competing interests among the Meiji government officials at a time when Japan was an industrializing and rising military power and needed workers in the factories, soldiers in the battlefields, and mothers and wives in the homes. This chapter has shown one of the dominant visions of womanhood that emerged from the arguments and practices, especially of education bureaucrats since the 1870s – one that firmly placed women in their homes. Sewing, domestic science, and morals were gendered themes that served as vital instruments in the transmission of what was defined as Japanese values, especially filial piety, frugality, and industry. These courses also played an important role in the promotion of a gendered division of labor within the domestic realm that assigned a vast array of household work to women.

Diffusion of ideal gender roles and attributes, which underlay the Meiji state's education policy on women, closely intertwined with nation-building. Efforts were made and arguments were advanced to maximize women's contributions to the state as caretakers and educators of children, as caretakers of the elderly, and as managers of their homes, although such duties were not accompanied by political rights exercised, for example, by propertied men. Overall, the arguments of education bureaucrats for efficient wives and responsible mothers may be viewed as part of a nationalist discourse geared to producing loyal and productive imperial subjects. Nationalist discourse, as Mariko Asano

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[197] Tocco, "Female education in practice," 211.

Tamanoi explains, aims to achieve a "specific, and if possible stable perception of a society's proper relationship with the outside world" by erasing the "differences within society" and "imagining" a homogeneous nation.[198] The domestic ideals that constituted the state's "good wife, wise mother" education were premised on a vision of a homogeneous womanhood that, for the most part, ignored class, as well as ethnic and urban-rural differences, even as they strengthened gender differences.

Nonetheless, education ideas, as demonstrated by sewing lessons discussed in this chapter, were not merely impositions from above (the state), but a product of the convergence of several interests, including those of school teachers, parents, and students. Herein we see how, as Sophie Watson notes, the state functioned as an arena in which interests were "actively constructed rather than given."[199] Education bureaucrats, school teachers, parents, and students were all involved in the process of shaping the contours of the sewing lessons. Its resulting outcome was a product, in the words of Watson, of the "demands being made and the state's responses." This chapter also showed that ideas about the primacy of domesticity for women were promoted by Education Ministry bureaucrats, prefectural government officials, and local school authorities, but some teachers, who were sensitive to the varied needs of women, modified the plan.

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[198] Tamanoi, "Japanese Nationalism and the Female Body," 275.
[199] Sophie Watson, "The State of Play: An Introduction," in *Playing the State: Australian Feminist Interventions*, ed. Sophie Watson (London/New York: Verso, 1990), 8.

CHAPTER THREE

'A Friend for Japanese Women': Fukuzawa Yukichi and Women's Education

In May 1901, a few months after Fukuzawa Yukichi's death, an anonymous woman from Mita wrote a letter to Fukuzawa's widow:

> I have often read your husband's articles on Japanese women in the *Jiji shimpô*, and when the news of his death was brought to me I could not help feeling as though I had lost a dear friend. . . . I offer these poor flowers as a gift to his departed spirit. . . . I will pray that his noble spirit will always remain in this world as a friend for Japanese women."[1]

She was one of those who deeply mourned Fukuzawa's death. What were Fukuzawa's arguments and efforts for women and women's education that led this woman to consider him as "a friend for Japanese women?"

This chapter explores the views on women's education of an ardent nationalist and non-government reformer, Fukuzawa Yukichi. Drawing on his writings in the *Jiji shimpô* (Daily News) and the *Meiroku zasshi* (Journal of the Meiji Six), as well as on his autobiography, this study demonstrates how his perspective on women's education deeply intertwined with his overarching goal to maintain Japan's independence from the western powers.[2] In addition, it draws on newspaper accounts of Fukuzawa and autobiographical and biographical accounts of women and men to assess the impact of his ideas in Japan.

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[1] "Fukuzawa Sensei aito-roku" [Condolences to Our Mentor Fukuzawa], *Keiô gijuku gakuho* 39, May 1901, 27.

[2] *Meiroku zasshi* was launched in 1873 with a circulation of about 3, 000. Founded in 1882, *Jijishimpô*'s exact circulation is not known, but the account of Kato Hidetoshi suggests that it reached more than 12, 000 in the 1880s. In the early 1900s *Jijishimpô* was one of the top seven Japanese newspapers in terms of circulation. Kato Hidetoshi, "Media, Culture, and Education in Japan [A Collection of Papers]," *Bulletin of the NIME* [Special Issue] 03-1992, Tokyo: National Institute of Multimedia Education, 1992, posted at http://homepage3.nifty.com/katodb/doc/text/2596.html , accessed 22 April 2006. Fukuzawa's writings were compiled in a 22-volume *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* [The Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-1971). On Fukuzawa's autobiography, see Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuô Jiden*

Fukuzawa was an influential figure in the Meiji intellectual world and a prolific writer on women's issues. He was a member of the Meiji Six Society (*Meirokusha*), an organization founded by Mori Arinori in 1873 whose slogan was "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*). In contrast to the practice of many members of this society, Fukuzawa never held any official position in the Meiji government.[3] He dedicated his life to managing his school, Keiô Gijuku, and to his writing on various topics, including politics, western civilization, education, and women. Throughout the three decades of Fukuzawa's reformist career, he presented his ideas on women and on women's education in numerous articles published in his newspaper, the *Jijishimpô*, which he launched in 1882. Despite his enormous work on women's education, few scholars have examined his views in depth. Instead, historians tend to focus on Fukuzawa's ideas on politics, history, ethics, civilization, and education in general.[4] His views on women's education are often subsumed under his support for "civilization and

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[Autobiography of the Aged Fukuzawa], translated in English by Eiichi Kiyooka under the title *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1981). Succeeding references to Fukuzawa's autobiography were taken from *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi.*

[3] *Meirokusha* members like Mori Arinori, Katô Hiroyuki, Tsuda Mamichi, and Nishi Amane, assumed positions in the Meiji government. Only a few like Fukuzawa and Nakamura Masanao worked outside the government. *Meirokusha* members disseminated their ideas through the society's short-lived journal, the *Meiroku zasshi* (Journal of Meiroku), which was published from 1874 to 1875. For English translation, see William Reynolds Braisted, trans., *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[4] See Carmen Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Albert M. Craig, "Fukuzawa Yukichi: The Philosophical Foundations of Meiji Nationalism" in *Political Development in Modern Japan*, ed. Robert E. Ward (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), 99-148; Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji* Period (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 59-68; Yasukawa Jyunosuke, "Fukuzawa Yukichi, 1834-1901," in *Ten Great Educators of Modern* Japan, comp. and ed. Benjamen C. Duke (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989), 17-37.

enlightenment" and studied as part of the *Meirokusha* members' views on women or of his ideas on education in general.[5]

Exploring Fukuzawa's arguments and practices to promote the education of women beginning in the 1870s reveals how a non-state reformer's main reason for advancing women's education was compatible with the government's goal to elevate Japan's position vis-à-vis the western powers. Improvement of women's domestic position was central to Fukuzawa's thinking on women. He demonstrated his feminism by challenging a primary locus of female subordination, which was the home. His arguments for women's domestic roles presented a picture of female strength and efficiency, and elevated women's position in the home. He also promoted women's self-reliance, which was crucial to the development of feminist consciousness. Historians Sharon Sievers, Yasukawa Jyunosuke, Carmen Blacker, and Nakajima Kuni seemed have taken Fukuzawa to task because of the importance he placed on women's roles as wives and mothers. Yet, as feminists have reminded us time and again, it is important to awaken women's consciousness, especially to their subordinate role in the family and in society. Aside from promoting women's domestic responsibilities, Fukuzawa also thought of educated women as full partners with men in political and socio-economic endeavors. Although he did not support women's suffrage at the time, he did not close the door to the future possibility of women acquiring their rights outside of marriage.

My study builds on the works of historians of modern Japan and of Japanese women who consider Fukuzawa a contributor to the movement for women's rights.[6] I argue that Fukuzawa contributed to the history of this movement, notwithstanding his emphasis on women's rights in the home. His views on women's education were, for the most part, progressive, not conservative. He rejected the wife's subordinate position in the family, and his notion of the "good wife, wise mother" was not the same as those promoted by many education bureaucrats. Even those scholars who provide a positive assessment of Fukuzawa's perspective on women focus on its limitations. Yasukawa Jyunosuke, for example, acknowledges Fukuzawa's reputation as a "progressive defender of women's rights" because of his renunciation of polygamy, but he suggests that Fukuzawa's ideas were conservative because he endorsed women's role as mother and as "obedient, virtuous wife."[7] Kuniko Fujimura-Fanselow links Fukuzawa to the "good wife, wise mother" vision by noting that he was the first articulator of this ideal, commonly associated with the Education Ministry.[8] Furthermore, Nakajima Kuni contends that, unlike education reformist Naruse Jinzô, Fukuzawa had a limited view of the "future role of women."[9] Fukuzawa failed, Sharon Sievers argues, to carry the advocacy for women's

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[5] For example, Lee T. Oei, in his 46-page article, "Fukuzawa Yukichi and the Modernization of the Japanese Mind," devoted only one and a half pages to Fukuzawa's views on women and women's education. Lee T. Oei, "Fukuzawa Yukichi and the Modernization of the Japanese Mind," *The American Asian Review* X, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 1-50.

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[6] See, for example, Barbara Molony, "State and Women in Modern Japan: Feminist Discourses in the Meiji and Taishô Eras," in *Japan: State and People in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Janet Hunter, Discussion Paper JS/99/1683 (March 1999): 29-30, posted at http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/js/js368.pdf, accessed 24 August 2005; Barbara Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights in Turn-of-the-Century Japan," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 463-92;Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), 16-25; Mikiso Hane, "Fukuzawa Yukichi and Women's Rights," in *Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912*, eds. Hilary Conroy, Sandra T.W. Davis, and Wayne Patterson (London: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 96-112; Fujiwara Keiko, "In Search of an Ideal Image of Womanhood," in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), vii-xv; Inoue Teruko, "Fukuzawa Yukichi no danjo dôsûron" [Fukuzawa Yukichi's Essay on the Equal Number of Men and Women], in *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Philosophy and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], ed. Tanaka Sumiko (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), 26-29.

[7] Yasukawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 30-31.

[8] Kuniko Fujimura-Fanselow, "The Ideology of Good Wives and Wise Mothers: Trends in Contemporary Research," *Gender and History* 3, no. 3 (1991): 345.

[9] Nakajima Kuni, "Naruse Jinzô (1858-1919)," in *Ten Great Educators of Modern Japan*, comp. and ed. Benjamen C. Duke (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1989), 75.

rights further.[10] His view on women was "narrow," describes Nishikawa Shunsaku, because it was limited only to a certain class and it failed to address issues related to women in the labor force and to condemn the prostitution of girls.[11] Fukuzawa's ideas on women, Carmen Blacker and Lee T. Oei maintain, were conservative because he failed to promote women's suffrage, women's higher education, and women's participation in extra-domestic activities.[12] Clearly, most of these arguments are based on the assumption that Fukuzawa's conception of women's roles inside the home was similar to the *ryôsai kenbo* ideal of the government authorities. By expecting Fukuzawa to bring the promotion of women's rights outside the home, they seemed to have placed a premium on the pursuit of women's rights outside the domestic sphere. This is, without doubt, an important goal, but it was not the only means to elevate women's status and condition.

This chapter considers Fukuzawa's works in the 1870s and 1880s, as well as those in the late 1890s. A study across three decades brings to light the changes and the continuities in his perspective on how and why women should be educated, providing a long-term view which is often neglected by scholars. The first section of this chapter traces the gestation of Fukuzawa's ideas by exploring the influences on his life, including his mother, his studies, and his travels abroad. The second section examines Fukuzawa's ideas on women's education, particularly his arguments for women's self-reliance, home and formal education, practical education, and the "good wife and wise mother" ideal. I also examine in this section the impact of his writings and ideas on women. I conclude this chapter by reflecting on the progressive nature of Fukuzawa's ideas and on the successful strategies of this non-government reformer.

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[10] Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 16-25

[11] Nishikawa Shunsaku, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," http://www.ibe.unesco.org/International/Publications/Thinkers/Thinkerspdf/fukuzawa.pdf, accessed 25 October 2003. Originally published in *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* XXIII, nos. 3 & 4 (1993): 493-506.

[12] Blacker, *TheJapanese Enlightenment*, 89; Oei, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 27.

Shaping Fukuzawa's Views on Women's Education

In order to understand Fukuzawa's views on women's education, it is necessary to look first at the factors that shaped his perspective and facilitated his promotion of women's education. Scholars have traced the roots of Fukuzawa's ideas on women to external factors, such as his pursuit of western learning (*yôgaku*) and his travels to the United States and Europe.[13] Fujiwara, for example, attributes Fukuzawa's belief in gender equality (*danjo byôdô*) to the influence of "western civilization" that he witnessed during his foreign visits.[14] However, she did not specify the elements of "western civilization" that contributed to Fukuzawa's understanding of the importance of gender equality. It must be noted that there were similarities in the general conditions, for example, of women in England and in Japan at the time. Like their counterparts in Japan, Englishwomen in the 1860s had no property rights and few custody rights over their children. There was also a sexual double standard when it came to divorce.[15] Aside from factors that pertain to ideas of western civilization, there were internal factors, such as Fukuzawa's experiences as he grew up under the guidance of his mother and as his family struggled with societal expectations that significantly shaped his perspective on women.

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[13] Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment*; Yasukawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi"; Oei, "Fukuzawa Yukichi"; Nishikawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 493-506.

[14] Fujiwara, "In Search of an Ideal Womanhood," xiii.

[15] Susan Moller Okin, "Editor's Introduction," in *The Subjection of Women*, by John Stuart Mill (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 1988), vii-viii.

Living Under the "Quiet Influence" of His Mother

Fukuzawa did not say much about his mother, Ojun, in his autobiography. The few times when he did he portrayed her as a woman of strength and, in his own words, of "quiet influence." Not much is known about her, except that she was the eldest daughter of Hashimoto Hamaemon, a samurai who belonged to the Okudaira clan in Nakatsu, a domain located on the coast of Kyûshû in southern Japan (presently part of Oita prefecture). Like many samurai daughters of her time, she must have been educated, at least, to read, to write, and to sew. Ojun's husband, Fukuzawa Hyakusuke, a low-rank samurai also from the Okudaira clan, died in 1836. At the time, their oldest child Sannosuke was eleven years old, while the youngest, Yukichi, was only one and a half years old. A year later, Ojun brought all her five children back to Nakatsu.

Fukuzawa Yukichi was born in Osaka in January 10, 1835. In 1822 his father was appointed as overseer of his clan's treasury (*motojimeyaku*) in Osaka, the trading center of Japan. Fukuzawa was born at a time when the Tokugawa officials and the *han* (domain) authorities were grappling with the mounting financial problems and unrest in the countryside. The Tokugawa shogunate (*bakufu*) was plagued by recurrent problems of inflation, and many domains suffered from chronic budget deficit. These conditions were aggravated by natural calamities and famines like the Tempô Famine from 1833 to1834, which severely affected the northern domains and claimed thousands of lives. These problems had the gravest effect on the peasants, resulting in thousands of peasant uprisings that only worsened toward the late Tokugawa period. As for the samurai, expected to maintain a certain standard of living befitting their status (e.g., size of residence, style of dress, number of servants), they struggled with the hereditary stipend they received from the domain lord (*daimyô*).[16] Sometimes domain lords withheld the stipend, which was pegged on a fixed amount of rice, as a "loan" to the domain.[17] Despite the financial instability of the lower samurai's life, Hyakusuke's job provided his family with a regular source of income and an opportunity to live in the prosperous city of Osaka. Things drastically changed, however, after his death.

After Fukuzawa's family returned to Nakatsu, they received some stipend from the domain, but it was not enough to prevent them from experiencing "the hardships of poverty." Their life mirrored the difficulties experienced by many samurai (*bushi*) households in the mid- and late-Tokugawa era.[18] Ojun tried to make ends meet and her experiences as she struggled to provide for the needs of her children most likely contributed to Fukuzawa's understanding of the importance of self-reliance for women and the need for them to learn practical courses so they could earn a living. "None of us could ever forget what struggles our mother had been obliged to make in the meager household," he recalled. The family was in such dire need that it took ten years to save some money and pay the debt owed for some house repairs. Fukuzawa contributed to the upkeep of the family by cooking burdocks and radishes. He did home repairs like changing the cover of the thick mats that cover the floor (*tatami*) and replacing the paper lining of the inner door of the house (*shôji*). He put hoops around buckets and tubs. He also mended his family's wooden clogs and sandals. Like other lower samurai in his domain and elsewhere in Japan, he had some side jobs like doing house repairs for relatives. He learned from other lower samurai on how to make wooden clogs and fit out swords. He also worked in the rice field and pounded rice. Other members of his family must have taken jobs in order to supplement the family income.[19] Recalling her mother’s childhood experience growing up in the mid-nineteenth century Mito domain, Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980) noted that weaving for others was a standard side job of samurai wives and daughters.[20]

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[16] Kate Wildman Nakai, Introduction to *Women of the Mito Domain: Recollections of Samurai Family*, by Yamakawa Kikue, trans. Kate Wildman Nakai (Stanford, California: Stanford California Press, 2001), xi.
[17] Hane Mikiso, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 53-56.
[18] Nakai, Introduction, xi.

Ojun might have encouraged Fukuzawa’s interest in Chinese learning, but it was only when he was fourteen that he began his formal studies under Shiraishi, the great scholar of Nakatsu.[21] This was eight years after the usual starting age for boys to attend private schools, where they received basic educational training.[22] Fukuzawa attributed the late start of his formal schooling to his lack of interest to study, although it might have been due also to his family’s financial difficulties. Like other samurai sons, Fukuzawa read books on history, ethics, poetry, and the philosophy of Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu.[23]

Fukuzawa’s experience and observations of his mother’s life contributed to his belief in the equality of women and men, and of all the people, regardless of their social position. His experience growing up in a household with “no father to lord it over” may have made him receptive to the idea of women being equal with men. Also, his mother’s friendly relations with those who were supposedly below them like the merchants and the farmers may have contributed to his belief in equality.[24] Ojun treated with kindness the outcaste, such as those who slaughtered cattle and a beggar named "Chie." Ojun, in fact, made Fukuzawa help clean Chie's hair.[25]

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[19] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography,* 9-11; 261-63.

[20] Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain,* 15.

[21] David Dilworth, “Introduction,” in *An Encouragement of Learning*, by Fukuzawa Yukichi, trans. David A. Dilworth and Umeyo Hirano (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1969), xii.

[22] Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain*, 9.

[23] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 11, 261.

[24] Although theoretically below the samurai, there were merchants who became the creditors of many samurai and domain lords. Tsuzuki Chushichi, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan, 1825-1995* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2000), 23.

Fukuzawa also experienced the "restricted conventions" in Nakatsu. He grew up disliking the reverence accorded to the upper samurai and to the members of his own class by those below. He noted, for example, how the regulations based on a person's rank and position were applied even among the children of the upper and lower samurai families. Children of the lower samurai like himself were required to address the children of the high samurai in a respectful manner, while they were not accorded the same kind of respect by the latter. He was respected inside the classroom because he was the best student, but outside the classroom he was considered inferior to the children of the upper samurai.[26] Fukuzawa would later underscore the importance of education as the basis of a person's social position.

Western Learning

In February 1854, under the prodding of his brother Sannosuke, the twenty-year-old Fukuzawa left Nakatsu for Nagasaki to study the Dutch language. This was the beginning of his pursuit of western learning. At the time, Nagasaki attracted many young samurai who were interested in western learning, especially the Dutch language and gunnery. Fukuzawa wanted to escape the restrictive atmosphere in Nakatsu, as well as to study Dutch.[27] The Tokugawa policy of *sakoku* (closure of the country) from 1635 to 1853 officially closed Japan to foreign contact, with the exception of the Dutch who were allowed to stay in the island of Deshima across Nagasaki Bay.[28] A year before Fukuzawa went to Nagasaki, Commodore Matthew Perry's "black ships" appeared in Uraga Bay, forcing Japan to end its seclusion policy and to open up to western powers. Perry's arrival made national defense and gunnery of paramount importance to the Tokugawa shogunate and to many domain officials, as well as to the samurai. While in Nagasaki, Fukuzawa first lived and helped out in a Buddhist temple. He later joined the household of Yamamoto Monjirô, a gunnery teacher. He taught Yamamoto's son the Chinese classics and helped in the household chores, in return for free board and lodging. He also acquired some knowledge about gunnery, such as how to cast a cannon. He learned some Dutch from an interpreter named Narahayashi and from a physician who practiced Dutch medicine.[29]

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[25] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 4, 15, 18.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., 22, 334.

After a year in Nagasaki, Fukuzawa moved to Osaka, where his older brother worked. Aside from continuing his study of the Dutch language, he started to learn western medicine at the *Teki juku.* Founded by Ogata Kôan (1810-1863), this was one of the twelve private schools of western medicine that opened in Japan between 1786 and 1846.[30] Ogata was a physician and a prominent scholar of Dutch Studies (*Rangaku*). Together with about eighty students, Fukuzawa conducted experiments in chemistry, dissected animals and corpses of decapitated criminals, and learned about electricity.[31]

Fukuzawa's three-year study at Ogata's school contributed to his critical attitude towards Chinese influences in Japan. As students of Dutch medicine, Fukuzawa and his classmates looked at Chinese medicine and, by extension, Chinese culture, with disdain. Western/Dutch science, which was associated with rationality and civilization, was viewed as irreconcilable with Chinese learning. Regarded as the model for Japan in the eighth century, China was now the antithesis of Fukuzawa's idea of civilization. "Our general opinion," declared Fukuzawa, "was that we should rid our country of the influences of the Chinese altogether."[32] Herein we see traces of Fukuzawa's anti-Chinese sentiment that would later figure in his conception of the roots of Japanese women's subordination.

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[28] All overseas travel by the Japanese was banned beginning in 1635. Yet, notwithstanding Japan's seclusion policy the islands of Tsushima traded with Korea, and Satsuma with Ryukyu (Okinawa). Tsuzuki, *Pursuit of Power*, 22.

[29] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 23-25.

[30] Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power*, 26.

[31] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 86-89.

While exulting in their belief that they were the vanguard of western learning in Japan, Fukuzawa and his classmates soon realized that knowledge of the Dutch language would not provide them with a means of livelihood in Osaka. Unlike in the Tokugawa capital, Edo, where there was a need from the Tokugawa offices for those who knew Dutch, Osaka was a city of merchants and its economy was devoted mainly to internal commerce. In 1858, Fukuzawa got a chance to move to Edo. The Nakatsu domain officials asked him to open a school in Edo to instruct samurai sons from his domain in Dutch Studies.[33]

After moving to Edo, the twenty-five-year-old Fukuzawa visited the nearby Yokohama where he realized that he needed to study the English language. The port of Yokohama opened to foreign commerce after the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States in 1858. This treaty was followed by a similar treaty with Holland, Russia, Great Britain, and France. They constituted the "unequal treaties" that granted, among others, extraterritorial rights to these countries' citizens who lived in

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[32] Ibid., 91.

[33] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 90-91.

Japan. To Fukuzawa's utter dismay, even with his knowledge of the Dutch language he was unable to converse with the foreigners in Yokohama. Also, he could not read the signboards and labels in the merchandise that was on sale. He then realized that he needed to study the English language because it was "the most useful language of the future."

It was not easy for Fukuzawa to learn English at a time when there were not many Japanese who could speak and teach this language. Also, frustrated with their realization that Dutch was a not a "universal language," not many students of Dutch were interested in learning another foreign language. Still, Fukuzawa was determined to study English. While in Yokohama, he bought a small English conversation book, which contained sentences in both Dutch and English. He tried to learn English by first translating each word into Dutch, an arduous process that required the use of a Dutch-English dictionary. After a long search, he found a partner in Harada Keisaku (1830-1910) and together they studied through the use of a Dutch-English dictionary. They learned the pronunciation of English words from ship-wrecked Japanese fishermen who returned to Japan aboard foreign ships and from men from Nagasaki who knew some English.[34]

Travels Abroad

Through Fukuzawa's knowledge of English, he got an opportunity to visit the United States and Europe, where he was exposed to the lives of foreign women. Furthermore, through his observations of the interactions of the Japanese representatives and their foreign counterpart, he conceived of the intimate connection between western learning, civilization, and independence, which influenced his views of women's education.

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[34] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 97-98, 101-02.

Fukuzawa first went to the United States in 1859 as personal assistant to Kimura Yoshitake (1830-1901), captain of the Kanrin-maru. This ship brought Japan's first diplomatic mission to the United States, which aimed to ratify the 1858 treaty with the Americans and study "western civilization." While in San Francisco, Fukuzawa bought a Webster's dictionary. Given his difficulty finding and accessing an English dictionary in Japan, he was so happy with his purchase that he thought he could leave "the new world" and go home to Japan.[35] In addition, in 1862 the twenty-seven-year old Fukuzawa went to Europe as translator for the Japanese mission that tried to negotiate the delay of the implementation of the treaties with the European powers.[36] He left Japan for Europe a year after he got married to Okin, daughter of a higher-rank samurai from Nakatsu.

Aside from Fukuzawa's interest in the English language, he, like the other men in Japanese missions, was fascinated by the interaction of men and women in the United States and Europe.[37] Fukuzawa's observations would later influence his argument for equality between husband and wife, and for women to interact with men. For example, after the Japanese delegation arrived in San Francisco in 1860, they were treated to many parties and Fukuzawa was astonished to see American men and women "hopping about the room together."[38] It was unlike what was expected from the samurai women, as prescribed in the eighteenth-century Confucian teachings of the *Onna daigaku* (Greater

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[35] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 349, n104, 117.

[36] The Japanese delegation visited countries like France, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Germany, Russia, and Portugal.

[37] On accounts of Japanese travel abroad, see Donald Keene, *Modern Japanese Diaries: The Japanese at Home and Abroad as Revealed Through Their Diaries* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1995); Kume Kunitake, comp., Graham Healey and Chushichi Tsuzuki, eds., *The Iwakura Embassy, 1871-1873: A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary'sJourney of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe*, 5 vols. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[38] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 114.

Learning for Women), which urged the separation of the sexes beginning in childhood.[39] Aside from Fukuzawa's observations at a party in San Francisco, the scene in the home of a Dutch physician in Vallejo, near Mare Island, also captured his attention. When the Japanese delegation visited the home of this Dutch physician, Fukuzawa was surprised that it was the "mistress of the house" who stayed in the drawing room to entertain the guests, while her husband went in and out of the room to direct the servants to prepare dinner. Fukuzawa considered this as the "reverse of the domestic custom" in Japan, where wives were expected to serve and not interact with the guests. Tsuda Umeko, who studied in the United States for eleven years, experienced this reversal in domestic custom when she returned to Japan in 1882. Umeko, her sister, and her mother were relegated to the role of servers, and she was frustrated over her inability to meet and converse with her father's friends.[40]

A less explored aspect of Fukuzawa's visits to Europe was his interest in women's education. Aside from observing the operation of military conscription in Paris in 1862, he also showed interest in the religious and public education provided for girls, the number of schools for girls, the number of girls enrolled, and the salary of women teachers. Fukuzawa's observations, which were published in his book *Seiyô jijô* (Conditions of the West) in 1866, were mainly descriptive and devoid of commentary whether they would be good models for the women in Japan.[41] Nonetheless, his attention to the various aspects of women's education reveals his keen interest even in the 1860s in foreign initiatives to educate women.

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[39] The *Onna daigaku* is often mistakenly attributed to Kaibara Ekken, but its author is unknown. Also, Kaibara is commonly viewed as being against the education of women, but he argued that women should be educated and trained, just like men. Martha C. Tocco, "Female education in practice: Norms and texts for women's education in Tokugawa Japan," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in PreModern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, Jahyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 195-96. For English translation of the *Onna daigaku*, see Kaibara Ekiken, *The Way of Contentment, and Women and Wisdom of* Japan, ed. Hoshino Ken (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, Inc., 1979).

[40] Tsuda Umeko to Adeline Lanman, 6 January and 23 May 1883, Tsuda-juku Daigaku Archives.

Furthermore, Fukuzawa's observations regarding the foreign reception of Japanese ways convinced him of the importance of education as an instrument for national progress. He realized that it was imperative to spread "western civilization" in Japan in order to gain the respect of western nations. For example, when the Japanese delegation stayed in a hotel in Paris, Fukuzawa saw a personal attendant of one of the Japanese lord-envoys who followed his lord to the washroom with a lighted paper lantern and squatted patiently outside the open door while holding his master's removed sword. This scene attracted the attention of the hotel guests and Fukuzawa was embarrassed to have witnessed such incident.[42] Japan's image in the west would figure prominently in Fukuzawa's argument to educate women in order to improve their condition and that of society in general.

Bringing Japan into the "Light of Western Civilizations": Fukuzawa's Views on Women's Education

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Fukuzawa undertook a new mission to educate the Japanese people, including the women, in order to bring the country "into the light of western civilization." As he explained, "I felt as though I must try to change the people's way of thinking from its very foundations. Thereby I could help to make Japan into [a] great new civilized nation in the East, comparable with England in the West."[43] Fukuzawa's aim for promoting the education of women was compatible with the government officials' goal of transforming Japan into a "civilized" nation. It was this compatibility in their goals that, as Inoue Teruko notes, made Fukuzawa's ideas on women's education popular at a time when female school enrollment was relatively low.[44]

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[41] Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power*, 78.
[42] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 128-29, 135.
[43] Ibid., 246, 617, 334-35.

Fukuzawa did not believe that formal education alone would suffice as a solution to the problems faced by women. His ideas on women's education intertwined with his arguments for equal relations between the husband and wife and for women's self-reliance, which he deemed necessary to improve women's conditions. The idea of a wife being equal to her husband, being self-reliant, and economically independent constituted what Mariko Asano Tamanoi calls as Fukuzawa's *fujin* (women) ideology, which competed with the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal. Tracing the first use of the term *fujin* to Fukuzawa, Tamanoi argues that it connotes the idea of women as "respectable human beings," and not as mere "appendages of men."[45]

Developing Women's Self-Reliance

Women's self-sufficiency was a central theme of Fukuzawa's writings in the 1870s and of his later works in the 1890s. It was also a major theme of J.S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, which Fukuzawa read.[46] Like feminists Kishida Toshiko (1863-1901) and Fukuda Hideko (1865-1927), Fukuzawa stressed the importance of women's economic independence, which could be fostered through property rights, knowledge of law and economics, and engagement in income-earning activities. All these would serve, as he wrote in his "Fujin no kaiken" (woman's dagger) published in 1899, as a dagger for the woman's protection.[47] Women's economic independence, he argued, could facilitate women's "ultimate escape from old-fashioned conventions," such as the expectation for the wife to be obedient to her husband.[48] A self-sufficient woman could also contribute to a stable household, and, by extension, to a stable and independent nation.

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[44] Inoue, "Fukuzawa Yukichi no danjo dōshiron," 28.

[45] Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Japanese Nationalism and the Female Body: A Critical Reassessment of the Discourse of Social Reformers on Factory Women," in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 284.

[46] J.S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women* was translated into Japanese in the 1870s. Fujiwara, "Introduction: In Search of an Ideal Womanhood," xiii.

Fukuzawa was one of the few male Meiji reformers who declared that women must be provided with forms of protection, such as the right to own property.[49] The eldest son commonly inherited the family property, although there were some fathers who gave their daughters property of their own. Under the new Meiji law promulgated in 1873, a widow who did not have a son could become a household head and assume control of the family property.[50] If she would remarry or adopt a son, property ownership would be assumed by her husband or her son. The Meiji Civil Law of 1898 codified the samurai practice of giving inheritance to the eldest son. It also gave a husband control over whatever possession his wife had upon marriage.

Property ownership, as Fukuzawa suggested, was an instrument for women, particularly those who belonged to propertied families, to get away from the oppressive conditions in their homes. He noted the practice during the Tokugawa period of samurai women who always carried a dagger (*kaiken*) in their pocket for their protection even after they got married and moved into their husbands' family.[51] He therefore encouraged parents to give their daughters property to protect them just in case their husbands died without leaving them anything or if their husbands had concubines and treated them like slaves.[52] In an attempt to be consistent with his argument for family inheritance for women, Fukuzawa provided his wife with an "independent property," and divided the rest of his property into ten parts. He gave two parts to his eldest son and divided the rest among his remaining eight children, including his five daughters.[53]

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[47] Fukuzawa, "Fujin no kaiken" [Woman's Dagger], 1899, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū* 16 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten), 519-20.

[48] Fukuzawa, "Kyoto Gakkō no Ki" [The School System in Kyoto], 6 May 1872, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū* 20 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten), 77-81. For English translation, see Fukuzawa Yukichi, "The School System in Kyoto," in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education: Selected Works*, trans. and ed., Kiyooka Eiichi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1985), 73-78.

[49] Fukuzawa, "Fujin no kaiken," 519-20.

[50] Ishii Ryosuke, ed., *Japanese Legislation in the Meiji* Era, trans. William J. Chambliss (Tokyo: Pan-Pacific Press, 1958), 664.

Fukuzawa's support for women's right to own property had significant implications for the struggle for women's suffrage. In 1878, Kusunose Kita (1836-1920) based her demand for the right to vote on her position as a property owner and a taxpayer. This forty-five-year-old woman from Shikoku became a household head and property owner after her husband died in 1874. Frustrated over her inability to vote at a local election despite being a taxpayer, Kusunose wrote a letter to the prefectural authorities informing them that she would not pay her taxes if was not allowed to vote.[54]

Aside from property rights, knowledge of economics was another instrument for women's protection. Women, according to Fukuzawa, should study economics in order to manage their property well.[55] A decade before Fukuzawa published his article, "Fujin no kaiken," that contained his argument for women to study economics, Kishida Toshiko had already regarded it as an important issue for women. In the 1880s, Kishida declared the need for women to be taught basic economics so they could manage their own resources.[56] In 1888, Nakae Atsusuke also wrote in his article published in the *Kokumin no tomo* that women should be encouraged to discuss law and economics, just like men did.[57]

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[51] Fukuzawa, "Fujin no kaiken," 519-20.

[52] Fukuzawa, "Nihon fujinron" [Discourse on Japanese Women], 1885, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten), 447-74. For English translation, see Fukuzawa Yukichi, "On Japanese Women," in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 6-36. Succeeding references to this article were taken from *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*.

[53] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 300-01, 367.

[54] Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 29.

[55] Fukuzawa, "Fujin no kaiken," 519-20.

Fukuzawa considered knowledge of law as an instrument that would empower women and enable them to counter their "helplessness."[58] This was important, but the problem was not simply that women lacked knowledge or understanding of the Meiji laws. In the case of divorce, for example, there was no national legislation that protected the wife from arbitrary divorce by her husband for the sole reason that she did not please him.[59] Unlike the husband, the wife had to have a letter from her husband in order to obtain a divorce. Although a new divorce law in 1873 made it possible for a woman to directly petition the court for a divorce, it required the consent of male members of her family, suggesting that marriage was a family concern. There was double standard concerning divorce and this was evident in the 1898 Civil Code. For example, adultery was a ground for divorcing a woman, but it was not a ground for divorcing a man, unless he had been criminally sentenced for adultery.[60]

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[56] On Kishida's argument on women's right to own property, see Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 38.

[57] Nakae Atsusuke, "Fujin kairyô no issaku," *Kokumin no tomo* 25, 1888, 17-19, cited in Muta Kazue, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals: The Paradox Underlying the Emergence of the Home," trans. Marcella S. Gregory, *Nichi-Bei josei janaru* 7 (*U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*), English supplement (1994): 62, 70n47.

[58] Fukuzawa, "Shin onna daigaku" [The New Greater Learning for Women], *Jijishimpô*, 1 June – 23 July 1899, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 6 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 505-24. For English translation, see Fukuzawa Yukichi, "The New Greater Learning for Women," in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 220-44. Succeeding references to this article were taken from *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*.

[59] Mori Arinori, "Saishôron" [Discourse on Wives and Concubines], *Meiroku zasshi* 8, May 1874, in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 104-05.

[60] Ishii, *Japanese Legislation in the Meiji Era*, 672-673; Harald Fuess, *Divorce in Japan: Family, Gender, and the State, 1600-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 76-77.

Furthermore, Fukuzawa identified income-earning activities as a means to protect women. He argued that women could do whatever work men could do. This was a bold idea at a time when formal university training for engineering, law, and medicine, was closed to women, and when the only formal training available to them was in the field of teaching. More specifically, Fukuzawa endorsed the idea of women being engaged in business and he deemed it necessary for girls to learn bookkeeping. In 1873 he translated Henry Beadman Bryant and Henry Dwight Stratton's book, *Common School Bookkeeping*. He intended this as a guide "so that they [men and women] can enter the fields of commerce and industry and satisfy their great ambitions for independent lives of their own." In addition, Fukuzawa considered dressmaking as appropriate work for women. In 1872 the Keiô Gijuku, the school that Fukuzawa established in 1858 to teach Dutch Studies, announced the opening of its dressmaker's shop that aimed to train girls so they could engage in paid work.[61]

Home and Formal Education for Girls

Drawing on J.S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, Fukuzawa promoted his methods to educate girls and women. They were anchored, for the most part, in his belief in the similarity of the biological makeup of men and women, with both having the same body structure and workings of the mind.[62] This was a radical idea at a time when gendered notions, which were based on assumptions of women's physical and mental inferiority to men, influenced the state's education policy on women. The state's gendered policy on women's education manifested itself in the Education Ministry's emphasis on elementary education for girls and its endorsement of "appropriate" roles to girls and women through courses like sewing and home management.

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[61] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Keiô gijuku ifuku shitate kyoku kaigyô hikifuda" [Announcement for the Opening of Keiô Gijuku Dressmakes' Office], 1872, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 19 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 386-88.

[62] Fukuzawa, "Nihon fujinron kôhen" [Discourse on Japanese Women, part two], *Jijishimpô*, 7-17 July 1885, *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 477-507, trans. in Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. and e. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 39.

Fukuzawa suggested that boys and girls should have similar training at home and in school.[63] He considered the different instructions given to girls and boys as unreasonable, and he believed that such kind of training contributed to gender inequality. Parents, according to Fukuzawa, usually give their daughters lessons in reading, writing, and some "womanly skills," such as the tea ceremony and flower arrangement. They failed to teach them about economics or financial matters. Fukuzawa stressed that general ideas of law and economics, including techniques in abacus and bookkeeping, were applicable to everyday life.[64] Economics and law were not commonly taught to girls in public schools, except at the Tokyo Women's Normal School.[65] In contrast, the Education Ministry's standard curriculum for male higher normal schools included these two courses.[66] Fukuzawa's complaints regarding the inefficient education many parents gave to their daughters resonated with the earlier observations of Kishida Toshiko in the 1880s. Kishida noted, for example, that many girls were trained mainly in tea ceremony, flower arrangement, singing, and dancing, and were lacking in "knowledge of the world around them."[67] Like Kishida, Fukuzawa pushed the boundaries of women's education, although certain aspects of his methods were also compatible with that of the Education Ministry. For example, he deemed it necessary for all girls to learn about household chores, including how to cook rice, how to season the dishes, and how to plan a menu. He also endorsed sewing, calligraphy, composition and letter writing for girls.[68]

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[63] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 221-22.

[64] Fukuzawa, "Onna daigaku hyôron" [A Critique of the Greater Learning for Women], *Jijishimpô*, 1 April – 23 July 1899), in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 6 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 467-503, trans. in Fukuzawa, "A Critique of the Greater Learning for Women," *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 170-219. Succeeding references to this article were taken from *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*.

[65] "Tokyo joshi shihan gakkô, dai san nempô" [Third Year Annual Report of Tokyo Women's Normal School], 1877, OJDA.

[66] Kikuchi Dairoku, *Japanese Education: Lectures Delivered in the University of London* (London: John Murray, 1909), 311.

Fukuzawa also considered physical education as a basic part of the girls' early training, as it was for boys. Given what he believed was a common practice of keeping girls inside their homes, he urged parents to allow their daughters to play outside. Girls should be allowed to engage in physical activities, he argued, in order for them to become strong and healthy.[69] Clearly, Fukuzawa did not intend this kind of training for girls from lower-class families who played in the streets and beside the river. There were those who took care of their younger siblings or worked as nursemaids (*komori*) while they played in the shrine compounds and in the streets.[70]

Fukuzawa also advised those parents who could afford to hire a teacher or a tutor to instruct their daughters with a foreign language, such as English. He maintained that a foreign language like English would widen women's perspective and give them "a basic notion of the terms of the world." Such knowledge, he further argued, would allow women to "understand the talk of intellectuals" and, I would add, to participate in men's discussions. Women should be able to express themselves, and this, according to

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[67] Kishida Toshiko, "Hakoiri musume" [Daughters Confined in Boxes)] *Jiyû shimbun* 411, 20 November 1883, cited in Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 41.

[68] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 221-22.

[69] Ibid., 221.

[70] On girls who worked as nursemaids, see Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapon: The Culture and History of *Komori* (Nursemaid) in Modern Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 4 (November 1991): 793-817.

Fukuzawa, was a basic skill that every woman must have.[71] The idea of women as intellectual companions of men was a novel idea at a time when women were not normally encouraged to form an opinion, much less discuss societal issues with their husbands. Ishimoto Shizue (1897-2001), for example, recalled how her mother constantly reminded her that it was unheard of for women to discuss societal issues with their husbands.[72] Even in 1899, Fukuzawa admitted that it might be difficult to teach these lessons to girls because "they might seem rather strange and out of place," but he was convinced they were necessary to prevent women's helplessness.[73]

Although Fukuzawa was not alone in declaring the importance of private tutoring at home for girls, his argument was significant because he linked it to women's rights. He maintained that inadequate parental education at home was a major cause of women being "deprived of their rights."[74] In contrast, Mitsukuri Shûhei, in his article published in the *Meiroku zasshi* in 1874, premised his argument for the importance of the education of girls and boys at home on the merits of their early socialization and the girls' future role as mothers. Girls and boys, Mitsukuri declared, should be taught appropriate values and attributes when they are young so they could pass on these values to their future children.[75]

A look at the education of Fukuzawa's two youngest daughters, Taki (1876-?) and Mitsu (1879-1907), who were taught by tutors at home, further illuminate his perspective on home schooling and his practices towards the education of women.

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[71] Fukuzawa, "Critique of The Greater Learning for Women," 196.

[72] Ishimoto Shizue, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 78.

[73] Fukuzawa, "New Greater Learning for Women," 223.

[74] Fukuzawa, "Critique of Greater Learning," 202.

[75] Mitsukuri Shûhei, "On Education," *Meiroku zasshi* 8, May 1874, in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of Japanese Englightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 106-08.

Certain elements of his daughters' education were in line with his exhortations for women, while others contradicted his public statements and his official account of how he brought his children up. As with many other Meiji reformers, such discrepancy could be attributed, in part, to the disjunction between his public and private life, and between his ideals and actual practices.[76] For example, Taki learned the English language, which was in line with her father's ideal education for women.[77] She and Mitsu learned how to dance and how to play musical instruments like the *koto* (harp) and *shamisen* (three-stringed musical instrument). Fukuzawa and his guests like the American Clara Whitney listened to his daughters play the *koto*. Whitney visited the Fukuzawa household on November 16, 1875 and February 16, 1878.[78] Playing these music instruments was part of the fine arts (*bijutsu*) that Fukuzawa endorsed for women. He urged parents who could afford to teach their children lessons in refined arts to do so because they helped develop grace and elegance among women. Not included in Fukuzawa's idea of appropriate training for girls were tea ceremony and flower arrangement because, as he argued, they did not serve a utilitarian purpose.[79]

Despite Fukuzawa's critical stance against Confucianism, this belief system permeated his notion of modern womanhood. For example, he hired Tanahashi Ayako – a woman trained in Confucian education – to teach his daughters the Confucian classics.[80]

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[76] Carmen Blacker, "Fukuzawa Yukichi – On Husband-Wife Relations," *Japanese Women Emerging from Subservience, 1868-1945*, eds. Hiroko Tomiko and Gordon Daniels (Kent: Global Oriental, 2005), 156n24; Hane, "Fukuzawa Yukichi and Women's Rights," 107-08. Also see Edward Beauchamp, "Review of Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46 (Fall 1987): 148; Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18.

[77] Blacker, "Fukuzawa Yukichi – On Husband-Wife Relationships," 156, n24.

[78] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 4, 295; Clara A.N. Whitney, *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan* (Tokyo: Kōdansha International Ltd., 1979), 47, 165.

[79] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 223-25.

[80] Fujiwara, "Introduction: In Search of an Ideal Womanhood," xiv.

Similarly, in Donald Roden's study of Fukuzawa's view of the early Meiji gentleman, he noted that Fukuzawa's idea of the Meiji gentleman incorporated certain elements of the Confucian gentility.[81]

Furthermore, Fukuzawa maintained that he and his wife, Okin, cultivated an informal relationship with their children. They had not "lorded it over them in the sterner way."[82] Taki related, however, that she was not allowed to express her opinion in the presence of her parents and to speak to guests, although she was able to pick up odd scraps of information by listening to her father's conversations from the next room. Her activities outside the home and her interaction with men were strictly limited because she was never allowed to go out by herself. Also, she was not consulted about her marriage when she was eighteen.[83]

Fukuzawa's decision to provide private tutoring at home to his two youngest daughters could be attributed, in part, to his reservations regarding the kind of education given in Christian mission schools. His three eldest daughters, Sato (1868-1945), Fusa (1870-1955), and Shun (1873-1954), first attended Yôchisha, Keio Gijuku's elementary school, but they transferred to a Christian mission-run boarding school in Yokohama.[84] Such a move was most likely intended to expose them to western culture and to give them a better opportunity to learn the English language. Many Japanese families sent their daughters to missionary schools for similar reasons.[85] The attendance of Sato, Fusa, and Shun at the Christian school was short lived, however. It is unclear why they left after a few months. Fukuzawa's essay, "Yasokyōkai jogakkō no kyōiku hō" (Methods of Education in Christian Girls' Schools], published in 1887 provides a glimpse at his feelings toward the education provided by the foreign Christian missionaries to Japanese girls, and this may have been a reason why his daughters left the Christian mission school. He characterized such education as impractical.[86]

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[81] Donald Roden, "Thoughts on the Early Meiji Gentleman," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 61-98.

[82] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 297-98.

[83] Shidachi Taki to Carmen Blacker, 1 July 1953, cited in Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment*, 157-58, n44; Blacker, "Fukuzawa Yukichi – On Husband-Wife Relationships," 156, n24; Helen M. Hopper, *Fukuzawa Yûkichi: From Samurai to Capitalist* (New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2005), 101.

[84] Fujiwara, "Introduction: In Search of an Ideal Womanhood," xiv.

[85] Shibukawa Hisako, "An Education for Making Good Wives and Wise Mothers" [Ryôsai kenbo no kyôiku], *Education in Japan* 6 (1971): 50.

Fukuzawa was also dissatisfied with the public education, especially of his two sons, Ichitarō (1863-1938) and Sutejirō (1865-1926), who attended the Imperial University in Tokyo. Fukuzawa was convinced that the education at the preparatory department of the Imperial University was too heavy because it made his sons ill.[87] Their three months of school attendance was followed by three months of rest at home, and they often got sick after they returned to school. They eventually transferred to Keiō and later went to study in the United States.

The difference between the education of Fukuzawa's daughters and his sons indicates his perspective on how far women should be educated. Unlike his four sons and despite the example set by the five girls who went to study in the United States in 1872, none of Fukuzawa's five daughters pursued higher learning or studied abroad. The eldest son, Ichitarō, studied English literature at Cornell University, while Sutejirō, the second son, specialized in civil engineering and graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1888. Sanpachi, the third son, studied mathematics at the University of Glasgow in Scotland. Fukuzawa also sent his nephew to study in London.

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[86] Fukuzawa, "Yasokyōkai jogakkō no kyōiku hō" [Methods of Education in Christian Girls' Schools], 1887, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū* 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 318-23.

[87] Fukuzawa complained to the Director of the Bureau of Education, Tanaka Fujimaro, and warned him that if the situation continued students in the university would become "mentally unbalanced or physically crippled." Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 302-03.

Not only were there stark differences between the education of Fukuzawa's sons and daughters, their lives also followed different trajectories. Ichitarō taught at Keio University and he later became university chancellor (*shatō*). Sutejirō worked as a railway engineer and became president of the *Jijishimpō* in 1896. Meanwhile, all of Fukuzawa's daughters married well and remained at home to care for their children and supervise their households. The eldest daughter, San (Sato), was widowed and left with two young sons, and Fukuzawa assumed responsibility over them. Nothing much is known about the extra-domestic activities of Fukuzawa's daughters, except for Taki, who founded and managed for thirty years a branch of the YWCA in Tokyo.[88]

Clearly, there was a disjunction between Fukuzawa's argument for similar education for boys and girls and the actual education of his children. Nonetheless, he maintained that formal education for both sexes should be the same, with science serving as its foundation. Science lessons were taught in public girls' high schools. As discussed in chapter two, however, the curricula and actual teaching practices in schools presented science as less important to girls, compared to sewing and domestic housekeeping. Fukuzawa believed that any subject, except military strategy, was useful for women.[89]

Fukuzawa's belief in equal education opportunities for women did not extend to their higher education. Scholars have, in fact, criticized him for his failure to promote higher education for women.[90] Yet, his stance could be related to his gradual and long-term approach to reform – what he called "a practical expediency in leading people step by step."[91] He did not think that it was time for women to pursue higher learning. Neither did he believe that it was possible to educate women "in a hurry." As he stated in 1899, "to push them suddenly into higher education is only a dream, far from reality."[92] Other education reformers like Tsuda Umeko did not share Fukuzawa's opinion, however. She established a school for female higher learning in 1900 – a year after Fukuzawa wrote that women were not yet ready for this kind of education. Fukuzawa's school, Keiô Gijuku, remained exclusively male until 1947. Although he had plans to establish a girls' school as part of the Keiô Gijuku, they never came into fruition.[93] Keiô's elementary school, Yôchisha, established in 1874, did enroll girls, including Fukuzawa's three eldest daughters. It is possible that declining female enrollment in private schools due to high tuition fees and the financial difficulties experienced by Keiô Gijuku discouraged Fukuzawa from pursuing his plan to open a girls' school. Keiô's branches in Osaka, Kyoto, and Tokushima, which opened in the 1870s, closed down due to financial problems. The main campus in Tokyo was plagued with similar problems.[94]

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[88] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 365-66; Hopper, *Fukuzawa Yūkichi*, 100, 132, 135.
[89] Fukuzawa, "New Greater Learning for Women," 222.
[90] Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment*, 89; Oei, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 27; Nishikawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 9.

Jitsugaku for Women

Fukuzawa's notion of *jitsugaku* (real, useful, practical learning) was integral to his thinking on how and why women should be educated. Historians like Motoyama, Blacker, and Horio have analyzed Fukuzawa's idea of *jitsugaku*, but mainly in relation to his stance on Chinese learning and to Japan's national independence.[95] Even those scholars, such as Fujiwara Keiko and Mikiso Hane, who have examined Fukuzawa's notion of *jitsugaku* did not explore his changing conception of what constituted practical learning.[96] *Jitsugaku* had shifting meanings to Fukuzawa and it influenced his changing ideas on appropriate ways to educate women.

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[91] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 370, n336.

[92] Fukuzawa, "New Greater Learning for Women," 222-23.

[93] Fujiwara, "Introduction: In Search of an Ideal Womanhood," xiv.

[94] Yasukawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 28-29. Also see Nishikawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi," 7.

[95] Motoyama Yukihiko, "Meirokusha Thinkers and Early Meiji Enlightenment Thought," trans. George M. Wilson, in *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought and Education in the Meiji Era*, eds. J.S.A. Elisonas and Richard Rubinger (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 256-257; Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment*, 50-56.

In the early 1870s, Fukuzawa's conception of *jitsugaku* was anchored on western learning, which he regarded as "scientific and functional" learning. In contrast, he considered a study based on the Confucian teachings as *kyogaku* (false, empty, unnecessary learning) because it molded people into blindly obedient subjects useful only to the government.[97] For Fukuzawa, western learning was vital to the attainment of individual freedom and national independence, whereas Confucian-based education had no place in his ideal education for women. He believed it was responsible for women's subordination to men.[98] Fukuzawa's negative view of Confucianism was common among many Meiji reformers who considered it a source of Japan's backwardness. "Condemnation of the Tokugawa system" also figured in the Education Ministry's discourse on education reforms.[99] Historians of Japan have argued, however, for a rethinking of the negative characterization of Confucianism by highlighting its progressive aspects.[100] Scholars of East Asian women like Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott also urge an examination of the "real and alleged power of

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[96] Hane, "Fukuzawa Yukichi and Women's Rights," 105-06; Fujiwara, "In Search of an Ideal Image of Womanhood," xiii.

[97] Meiji reformers like Fukuzawa were not the first ones to use the terms *jitsugaku* and *kyogaku*. During the early Tokugawa period, neo-Confucian scholars used *jitsugaku* to denote studies of "real, moral life," in contrast to *kyogaku*, which was about "speculative studies of the afterlife." In the late Tokugawa period, *jitsugaku* focused on studies useful to national and local politics and the economy, as well as natural and experimental sciences. Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power*, 530.

[98] Fukuzawa, "Onna Daigaku," 172-219.

[99] Martha Tocco, "Made in Japan: Meiji Women's Education," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 48.

[100] See, for example, Jean-Pierre Lehman, "Themes and theories in modern Japanese history," in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History*, eds. Sue Henry and Jean-Pierre Lehmann (New Jersey: The Athlone Press, 1988), 3-9.

'Confucianism' to subjugate women."[101] Historians of Japanese women, in particular, challenge the totalizing view of Confucianism as detrimental to women's education by revealing that many daughters of the samurai and of elite urban commoner families studied reading, writing, arithmetic, as well as the Confucian canon that was normally associated with men.[102]

Fukuzawa deemed it necessary for women, not just men, to pursue practical learning.[103] With the slogan, "personal independence, national independence" (*isshin dokuritsu, ikkoku dokuritsu*), he intended this kind of education to benefit women and the nation. What constituted practical learning for Fukuzawa? Sciences, according to him, were the most important among the practical and useful courses. They were the foundation of a general formal education for both girls and boys. Physics, in particular, should be taught to girls and boys because it was the "staple of learning," just as rice was the staple food of the Japanese people. Abacus was another vital component of Fukuzawa's notion of practical education for girls.[104] During the Tokugawa period, the study of abacus was regarded as appropriate only for the children of the merchants. The importance Fukuzawa placed on mathematics was most likely influenced by the education of his older brother, Sannosuke, who was one of the few samurai in Nakatsu to study both Chinese classics and mathematics. Such view was also shaped by Fukuzawa's own observations of the lower samurai who struggled to make a living.[105] Fukuzawa's emphasis on mathematics paralleled the Education Ministry's endorsement of arithmetic, as well as reading, writing, and penmanship, to all Japanese, regardless of their socio-economic position and gender.[106]

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[101] Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott, eds., *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 3.

[102] On the education given to the daughters of the samurai and of the common people (*shomin*), see Tocco, "Female education in practice," 193-218; Iseda Yôko, "Tsuda Umeko to sono jidai: joshi kôtô kyôiku hatten to no kakawari o chûshin toshite" [Tsuda Umeko and that Era: Emphasis for the Development and Connection of Women's Higher Education], in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito* [The People Who Supported Tsuda Umeko], eds. Iino Masako, Kameda Kinuko, and Takahashi Yûko (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2000), 3. Also see Sally A. Hastings, "Women Educators of the Modern Era and the Making of Modern Japan," *International Journal of Social Education* 6, no. 1 (1991): 84; Sally A. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitions Woman," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 82.

[103] Fukuzawa, "Keiô Gijuku shochû kyûgyô ni tsuki enzetsu" [Objectives of Education at Keiô Gijuku], *Jijishimpô*, 31 July 1885, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1985), 202. Similarly, Vietnamese intellectual Phan Bôi Chau (1867-1940) saw the need to teach women practical education (*thuc hoc*) in order to strengthen their intellect. On the comparison of Phan Bôi Chau's ideas with with that of Fukuzawa, see Sinh Vinh, "Phan Bôi Chau and Fukuzawa Yukichi: Perceptions of National Independence," in *Phan Bôi Chau and the Dông-Du Movement*, ed. Sinh Vinh (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, 1988), 101-49.

[104] Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power*, 530.

Fukuzawa regarded "common and basic knowledge of today's civilization" like the rudiments of physical sciences, physiology, pathology, hygiene, outline of geography, and history as essential components of women's education.[107] His endorsement of pathology, physiology, and hygiene for girls was, in part, premised on the assumption that women would be responsible for maintaining the health of the family.[108] Geography was intended to instruct students about Japan and other countries in the world, while history was about the past and the present conditions of these countries. Fukuzawa urged the use of Japanese translations of western books for the study of these courses.[109]

Unlike in the 1870s when Fukuzawa defined practical education mainly in opposition to the Confucian-based learning that he thought was at the root of women's subservience, in the 1880s he contrasted it to the education propagated by girls' schools owned or run by foreign Christian missionaries. He denounced the Christian-sponsored education for girls and promoted skills and knowledge that many education bureaucrats and non-state reformers considered as "appropriate" for Japanese girls and women. Such an education, as Fukuzawa's 1882 reminder to parents suggests, was anchored on Japanese custom.[110] For example, girls should be taught how to sew the Japanese way, which was by hand, rather than how to do "western knitting" (sewing with a machine), as taught by many Christian mission schools. Fukuzawa's proposal was practical considering that not many Japanese families owned a sewing machine at the time. In 1887, he once again pointed to the irrelevance of the education that Christian schools provided to girls. He declared that it was useless for a Japanese girl to learn how to play a western musical instrument because it was rare for Japanese families to own a piano or an organ.[111] He also contended that female students could write in English, but not in Japanese letters. He traced this problem to the mission schools' neglect of calligraphy, which was an essential component of Japanese womanhood.[112] However, not all Christian schools failed to offer lessons in calligraphy. For example, the Joshi Shôgakkô, which was established in Azabu Tokyo in 1874 and supported by the American Methodist Episcopal church, did provide lessons in calligraphy, side by side with English language lessons.[113]

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[105] Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, 13.

[106] *Nihon kyôiku-shi shiryô-sho* 5 [Collection of Materials on the History of Japanese Education] (Tokyo: 1937), 120, 355 n53, cited in Amioka Shiro, "Changes in Educational Ideals and Objectives (From Selected Documents, Tokugawa Era to the Meiji Period), in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 341.

[107] Fukuzawa, "New Greater Learning for Women," 223, 234.

[108] Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 6-7; Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 234.

[109] Amioka, "Changes in Educational Ideals," 338-39.

Fukuzawa's changing conception of what constituted practical learning and his criticisms of the education provided by the foreign Christian missionaries could be traced, for the most part, to his deep concern over the negative impact of western influences in Japan and their implications to national sovereignty. Historian Yamaji Aizan (1864-1917), in fact, traced Fukuzawa's anti-Christian stance to his growing "national consciousness." Indeed, in the *Katei sôdan* in 1876 Fukuzawa denounced the Christian missionaries as irresponsible, and he declared the need for Japanese people to practice independent self-government.[114] Underlying his critical stance against the foreign Christian missionaries and the kind of education they promoted to Japanese girls was his concern over the influence of Christian girls' schools over their students, who could potentially spread Christianity to their families.[115] It is difficult to ascertain how much influence daughters would have in spreading Christian beliefs to their parents and siblings, but Fukuzawa was most likely thinking of the girls' potential influence on their future children.

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[110] Fukuzawa, "Joshi kyôiku no koto" [About Women's Education], 1882, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 19 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 563-66.

[111] Fukuzawa, "Yasokyôkai jogakkô no kyôiku hô," 318-23.

[112] Fukuzawa, "Joshi kyôiku no koto," 563-66.

[113] Elizabeth K. Eder, *Constructing Opportunity: American Women Educators in Early Meiji Japan* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), 102-04.

Accompanying Fukuzawa's critical comments on the education of girls in Christian mission schools was his rejection of the western lifestyle. In 1879, Clara Whitney observed that Fukuzawa discarded his European house and style of living. He stopped wearing western clothes and refrained from using English salutations.[116] It must be noted, however, that Fukuzawa's biting critique of the foreign Christian-sponsored education to girls and his rejection of western lifestyle did not mean a renunciation of western learning. In his essay entitled, "Shin Onna Daigaku" (New Greater Learning for Women), published in 1899, he underscored the need to instruct women with "common and basic knowledge of today's civilization."[117]

Deeply intertwined with Fukuzawa's promotion of practical learning for women was his encouragement of parents to send their daughters to school for at least five years.

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[114] Yamaji Aizan, "The First Reaction Against Westernization – Fukuzawa Yukichi," trans. Graham Squires, in *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christianity in Meiji Japan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, 1999), 103-06.

[115] Fukuzawa, "Yasokyôkai jogakkô no kyôiku hô," 318-23.

[116] Whitney, *Clara's Diary*, 270.

[117] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 222-23.

He presented a strategic argument for practical learning and appropriate education for women that invoked and reinforced the popular rhetoric of the primacy of marriage for women. He reminded parents that failure to provide their daughters with appropriate education would lessen their daughters' chance of finding husbands.[118] He also warned them not to send their daughters to "western schools, where a non-utilitarian program might make them less desirable marriage candidates."[119] More importantly, it was necessary for parents, Fukuzawa declared, to give their daughters five to seven years of education so they could have a good chance of marrying well. He argued that as the world progresses and as various opportunities come up, an educated woman would become a good wife material. "[T]hose who are looking for a wife will not look for women who are only superior in appearance and in the polite accomplishments. They will most certainly ask how much schooling she has had," Fukuzawa persuasively argued. He continued,

> Even though a woman is from a wealthy family, if she is weak in learning, she will have little prospect of marrying and in the end will be forced to marry a person who is poor. On the other hand, even though a woman is poor, if she has received an education and her conduct is good, she will certainly be able to marry well.

Such argument reinforced the primacy of marriage to women, although it also supported women's education by suggesting that it was a necessity for both the rich and the poor. Fukuzawa's suggestion could potentially counter the problem, as discussed in chapter two, of low female enrollment at the elementary schools, especially beyond the fourth grade. Fukuzawa embedded his endorsement of five to seven years education for girls within his argument that equated educated womanhood to good marriage. This was a strategic argument that was intended to allay the fears of parents who feared that "too much" education of girls, especially one that was beyond the four-year compulsory education, would lessen their chance of getting married. It also appealed to a family's desire to elevate its position through its daughter's good marriage.[120]

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[118] Fukuzawa, "Joshi kyôiku no koto," 563-66.

[119] Cited in James L. Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: A Crusading Journalist, Edward H. House* (Rowman and Littlefield Publisher, 2003), 129.

Educating Women as Full Partners of Men, and as Wives and Mothers

In 1872, after Fukuzawa visited Kyoto, he published the "Kyoto gakkô no ki" (School System in Kyoto), that reveals the wide-ranging social roles that he expected women to assume. In contrast to the views of many bureaucrats, he endorsed the idea of women serving not just as wives, mothers, and teachers, but also as participants in the public debate and as business entrepreneurs. Together with men, Fukuzawa argued, women should promote "industry and commerce and increase the wealth of the whole society," to spread "knowledge and virtue among commoners," and to lead them in "acquiring their rights to debate civil problems publicly" and in opening Japan to a "wide intercourse with foreign countries."[121] It must be noted that the women and men whom Fukuzawa thought would lead "the commoners" into the path of enlightenment and economic advancement belonged to what he considered the middle class. He envisioned this class to be made up of "enlightened former samurai" and those from the merchants and the artisans who had undertaken the study of *jitsugaku*.[122]

Fukuzawa's argument for women's domestic roles and marriage became more prominent beginning in the 1880s. Although he did not totally discourage women from taking an interest in things outside the home, he invoked women's "natural duty" as caretakers of their children and in charge of their "special domain."[123] Furthermore, in 1886 he urged those educated men and women who were financially capable and ready to procreate not to "waste their youthful days, but to enter straight into matrimony." He considered financial independence as a requisite for marriage, although he did not rule out marriage for the poor.[124]

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[120] *Gakumon no motozue*, in *Shiryô-sho*, vol. 5, 101-03, cited in Amioka, "Changes in Educational Ideals," 340, 355n50.
[121] Fukuzawa, "The School System in Kyoto," 78.
[122] Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power*, 79, 98.

Fukuzawa's endorsement of women's duties as wives and mothers, possibly of future soldiers, paralleled his support in the mid-1880s of the idea of Japan expanding in Asia. His essay published in 1885, "Datsuaron" (Discourse on Exit Asia) exemplified his view of the new direction that Japan should take. It urged Japan to "come out of the ranks of Asian countries" and to join the "civilized nations of the West" in colonizing its Asian neighbors. As the American and European powers competed to stake their claims in Asia, Fukuzawa argued that the only way for Japan to avoid the fate of its neighbors was to expand in Asia. Thus, he supported the Sino-Japanese war and contributed 10, 000 yen for the war effort.[125]

Like many Meiji bureaucrats, Fukuzawa held marriage as important for women, but his notion of marriage differed because he viewed it as a partnership between husband and wife. In contrast, as shown in chapter two, the Education Ministry's standard curriculum for girls' high schools in the early 1900s dealt more with women's responsibilities as wives and mothers, and not much with their relationship with their husbands. Applying the idea of marriage as partnership, Fukuzawa urged husbands to help care for their children and give their wives a rest.[126] Ignoring these differences in Fukuzawa's notion of marriage, historians like Blacker and Yasukawa identify a conservative thrust to his ideas on women because of his emphasis on the primacy of marriage and on women's domestic roles.[127]

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[123] Fukuzawa, "Joshi kyôiku to joken" [Women's Education and Women's Rights], 1897, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 6 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 263-64; Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 9; Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 232-33.

[124] Fukuzawa, "Kon'in sôbanron" [Discourse on Early Marriage or Late Marriage], *Jijishimpô*, 1-2 December 1886, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969-71), 153-58. For English translation, see Fukuzawa, "On Early Marriage or Late Marriage," in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 134-35.

[125] Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power*, 98.

Fukuzawa's endorsement of domestic roles for educated women by no means signaled their inferior position vis-à-vis men. He gave equal value to women's responsibilities as wives and mothers and to men's activities outside the home. As he explained, women's duties inside the home "may appear insignificant," but the way they handle household problems, including care of the elderly, education of children, management of the servants, show that in reality such responsibilities require "intellect, precision, and subtlety, beyond description."[128]

Fukuzawa also rejected the expectation for the wife to be subservient to her husband and parents-in-law. This was a central theme of his last two major essays on women, which were published in the *Jijishimpô* in 1899, two years before his death. One was his extensive critique of the Confucian instructions for women, the *Onna daigaku* (The Greater Learning for Women). Another was his prescriptions for women and for their education, which he called "Shin onna daigaku" (The New Greater Learning for Women). Fukuzawa's critique of the *Onna daigaku* was part of his discourse on modernity and it viewed Confucianism as a hindrance to Japan's advancement as an "enlightened" nation. Written in 1716 mainly for samurai women, the *Onna daigaku*'s actual influence on women's lives is difficult to ascertain. Although it remained as a "woman's inseparable companion" and an indispensable article of a bride's trousseau box well into the Meiji period, it is difficult to tell how many women actually read it and how many followed its teachings.[129] For example, upon the death of Ishimoto Shizue's grandfather, he left her a copy of the *Onna daigaku*, a manuscript bound with a purple silk. Ishimoto cherished the manuscript as a remembrance from her grandfather, but she "revolted" against its teachings on womanhood.[130] Nonetheless, Fukuzawa maintained that the *Onna daigaku* was a basis for the education of women and it was invoked by men in order to restrict women's activities.[131]

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[126] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 220.
[127] Yasukawa, "Fukuzawa Yukichi": 30-31; Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment*, 89.
[128] Fukuzawa, "Critique of the Greater Learning for Women," 212-13.

Fukuzawa denounced the *Onna daigaku*'s teachings that the wife should always obey her husband and her parents-in-law. The wife's blind obedience to her husband's unreasonable demands, just because he was her husband, would not make her a "good wife." In an effort to foster women's self-determination, Fukuzawa endorsed in 1899 the practice of some newly married couples who lived separately from their parents. For those who were unable to afford a separate living arrangement, he encouraged them to live in a separate part of the house and to establish an independent household. Similarly, Ueki Emori and other writers at the general-interest magazine *Kokumin no tomo* (Nation's Friend) in the late 1880s urged separate residences for married couples. According to Muta Kazue, these exhortations were part of their critique of the relationship between a married couple and his parents.[132] Fukuzawa, on his part, focused on the young wife, declaring that she must have her own kitchen and do her own housekeeping.[133]

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[129] Shingoro Takaishi, "Introduction to the Greater Learning for Women," in *The Way of Contentment*, ed. Ken Hoshino (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, Inc., 1979), 13.

[130] Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, 38.

[131] Fukuzawa, "Critique of the Greater Learning for Women," 184.

[132] Ueki Emori, "Shifu wa shûto shûtome to bekkyo subeshi," *Kokumin no tomo* 32, 1888, 22-26; Kanamori Tsûrin, "Kasei kairyôron," *Kokumin no tomo* 12, 1887, 12-13, cited in Muta, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals," 57, 69n14.

Married couples, Fukuzawa maintained, should combine their family names. This bold idea, which he espoused in his "Nihon fujinron" (Discourse on Japanese Women), published in 1885, had profound implications for women's identity and independence. He suggested that when a woman got married, she should not take her husband's family name, unlike the common practice in Japan.[134] Instead, she and her husband should adopt a new family name based on both their family names. For example, if a man named Hatakeyama married a woman named Kajihara, the new family name should be Yamahara.[135] It must be noted that the Household Register Law (*Kôseki-hô*, 1871) required every Japanese to be a member of a registered family and to be identified by its name, which usually followed that of the man. Upon marriage, the woman's name was entered in her husband's household register (*kôseki*) and erased from that of her parents, nullifying her prenuptial identity.[136] Thus, Fukuzawa's proposal for the husband and wife to combine their family names to form a new name implicitly recognized the wife's separate identity from her husband. She had an identity that was not submerged under that of her husband. Fukuzawa's proposal also signified the woman's position as an equal partner in the marriage.

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[133] Fukuzawa, "Critique of the Greater Learning for Women," 187-90; Fukuzawa, "New Greater Learning for Women," 230-31, 243.

[134] There were instances, however, when a man took the family name of his wife, especially if she belonged to a prominent family. For example, the husband of one of Fukuzawa's daughters took Fukuzawa as his new family name.

[135] Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 29.

[136] The inclusion of the wife's name into her husband's family register legalized her marriage to him. Sometimes a wife's name was added to her husband's family register only after she had given birth. A woman could remain in her natal family register if her husband was adopted by her family. Hopper, *Fukuzawa Yukichi*, 104-05.

In the 1990s, more than a century after Fukuzawa promoted the idea of the husband and wife combining their surnames, women's identity and independence remain at the heart of Japanese women's demand that they use their maiden names after marriage. Unlike the 1898 Meiji Civil Code, the 1948 Civil Code allowed married couples to choose one surname, either that of the husband or that of the wife. However, social expectations still call for the woman to assume the man's name. Those women who retained their maiden names or those men who assumed their wives' surnames oftentimes experienced difficulties, for example, at work.[137] In 1996, the Ministry of Justice drafted its proposed amendment to the 1948 Civil Law, which would allow married couples to use different surnames. The Diet has not passed a bill that would allow women to keep their maiden names, although in 2001 the Japanese government adopted a policy that allowed the use of maiden names by central government employees.[138]

Related to Fukuzawa's idea of equality between husband and wife was his denunciation of polygamy. It must be noted that in 1870, the Outline of the New Criminal Law gave the concubine and the wife equal status as second degree relatives of the husband. Yet, in Fukuzawa's essay entitled, "Danjo dôsû" (The Equal Numbers of Men and Women), published in the *Meiroku zasshi* in 1875, he argued that "it is clearly against the law of nature when one husband has two or three wives."[139] Aside from Fukuzawa, Mori Arinori, in his five-part essay, "Saishôron" (Discourse on Wives and Concubines), published in the *Meiroku zasshi* from 1874 to 1875, maintained that polygamy was against "human morality." It hampered Japan's advancement into an "enlightened" nation.[140] Christian reformers, who promoted a Christian-based morality anchored on monogamy, also joined the voices of those who denounced polygamy.[141]

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[137] Yamanoue Reiko, "One Marriage, Two Names," *The Japan Quarterly* (July-September 1994): 263-69.

[138] An increasing number of Japanese women have resorted to using their maiden names at work and in society, although they chose their husbands' names when they registered their marriage. Yoshioka Mutsuko, "Compulsory Selection of a Family Name for a Married Couple," http://womjp.org/e/JWOMEN/name.html, accessed 4 August 2006.

[139] Fukuzawa, "Danjo dôsû" [The Equal Number of Men and Women], *Meiroku Zasshi* 31, March 1875, in *Meiroku zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 385-86.

How widespread was polygamy in Meiji Japan? Records show that the practice of having a concubine (*mekake*) was high among those who belonged to the upper class. Among the Meiji elites, the emperor had several wives, and Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924), finance minister during the 1880s and later prime minister, had three concubines. Throughout the country, the number was relatively low and it varied across class and region. In 1880, for example, the ratio of concubines to male heads was 4:10 among the higher nobility (*kazoku*), 4:1,000 among the former samurai (*shizoku*), and 5:10,000 among the commoners (*heimin*).[142]

Although polygamy was not a widespread practice in Meiji Japan, it figured prominently in Fukuzawa's arguments for women because the issue lay at the heart of his idea of a "civilized" nation. In fact, it was most likely due to the relatively widespread practice among the Meiji elites that Fukuzawa urged that concubines be kept hidden from the "eyes of the public" so as to "preserve the appearance of a clean society."[143] Was Fukuzawa, therefore, more interested in Japan's civilized image rather than in reform for women? Without doubt, one of Fukuzawa's major goals was to gain western countries' recognition of Japan as an equal. His overarching concern was national independence. This was the driving force behind his reformist arguments, including those for women's education.

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[140] Mori Arinori, "Saishōron" [Discourse on Wives and Concubines], *Meiroku zasshi* 8, May 1874; issue 11, June 1874; issue 15, August 1874; issue 20, November 1874; issue 27, February 1875, in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Englightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 104-05, 143-44, 189-90, 252, 331-32.

[141] In 1888 the Temperance Union submitted a proposal for the revision of the monogamy law. In 1897, it also petitioned the Diet to prosecute male adulterers. Sandra Buckley with Sakai Minako, comp. "Chronology of Significant Events in the Recent History of Japanese Women (1868-1991)," in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 307-08.

[142] Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, 55-56.

[143] Fukuzawa, "Hinkōron" [Discourse on Morality], *Jijishimpō*, 20 November -1 December 1885, in Fukuzawa, "On Morality," *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 82-83.

Seeking to revise the unequal treaties, the Meiji government was similarly preoccupied, especially in the 1880s, with trying to gain western recognition of Japan as a "civilized country."[144] In 1882, the government rescinded the regulation that gave equal status to the concubine and the wife. This strengthened the legal position of the wife relative to the concubine, and this bode well with the government officials' promotion of the "good wife, wise mother" ideal. Ishii Ryosuke attributes the government's reversal of its position on the status of the concubines to the intense criticisms from the advocates of "civilization and enlightenment" who argued that an equal status of the wife and the concubine hindered Japan's advancement into a "civilized" nation.[145] Such move was also part of the government's effort to modernize the institution of marriage based on European legal and moral notions of monogamy and fidelity. Legal marriage, according to an 1875 government regulation, was defined by registration with government authorities. In 1898, the Meiji Civil Code made bigamy punishable by law.[146]

In the 1890s Fukuzawa directed the goal of women's learning towards the stability of the household, but he also regarded it necessary for women's protection. He declared that women should study economics not at the level of the banker, but as a personal accomplishment that would be useful for their self-defense. He urged wives not to be ignorant of their husbands' financial status, including their income, debts, and loans.[147] For Fukuzawa, knowledge of economics could contribute to a stable household and, by extension, national economy. He also wanted to protect the wife from financial difficulties in the event of her husband's death. Related to this was Fukuzawa's argument that women should be given responsibility in their households in order to develop their character.[148] Clearly, despite Fukuzawa's emphasis on the domestic role of women beginning in the 1880s, his concern for the welfare of women remained a central theme of his writings in the late1890s.

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[144] Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko," 87.
[145] Ishii, *Japanese Legislation*, 55, 668.
[146] Reaction to the notification regulation varied from late notification to non notification at all. In 1877, the Justice Department recognized the marriage as valid if recognized by the couple's neighbors. Fuess, *Divorce in Japan*, 49, 55.

"Scientific motherhood" was an important component of Fukuzawa's notion of educated motherhood. He instructed women on the ways to cope with emergency situations at home based on "scientific methods." He exhorted women to follow the doctor's advice and to refrain from using "'cures' of questionable value." For razor cuts, he suggested the use of disinfected cotton, rather than following the customary practice of using the lint collected from the corner of a person's sleeve. He warned against the use of black-roasted plants or animal organs as cure for a child's stomachache. While waiting for the doctor, the mother should give the child a warm bath or hot pad.[149] Fukuzawa now utilized the knowledge of western medicine, including germ theory, that he learned from Ogata's school in Osaka in order to improve family's health.

Drawing on the western idea of "scientific motherhood," which placed importance on "expert advice" on managing the households efficiently and maintaining family well-being, Fukuzawa's emphasis on scientific medical knowledge devalued "women's traditional knowledge." Like the women's magazines, such as the *Jogaku zasshi* in the 1880s and 1890s, and the Education Ministry's standard curriculum for girls' high schools in the early 1900s, Fukuzawa's exhortations for women contributed to the strengthening of "scientific authority" during the Meiji period.[150] His argument for scientific motherhood paralleled the introduction of scientific medicine in Japan, which led to the establishment of hospitals and laboratories throughout the country. It must be noted that public health was a government concern since the 1870s with great attention given to diseases, such as smallpox and beriberi.[151]

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[147] Fukuzawa, "Critique of the Greater Learning for Women," 202-03; Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 235.

[148] Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 6-14. However, Fukuzawa's argument was premised on the idea that women lacked or had little responsibility in their homes. Accounts by Meiji women and works by historians of Japanese women have challenged this totalizing view of women by showing how women from the higher classes assumed important responsibilities, such as managing their households. Those from the lower classes combined both productive and reproductive work. Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, 26-27; Gail Lee Bernstein, "Matsuura Isami: A Modern Patriarch in Rural Japan," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002), 139-44.

[149] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 234.

Furthermore, Fukuzawa emphasized the value of breastfeeding and the importance of the health of girls, who were future mothers. He urged women, especially those who belonged to the higher class who commonly hired wet nurses, to nurse their children with their own milk, instead of using cow's milk or the milk of wet nurses. Like Mori Arinori, Fukuzawa believed in the link between the physical development of girls and their future reproductive capability, thus he deemed it necessary to preserve their health.[152] He encouraged parents to allow their daughters to play outside the home and give them "rough and simple clothing which may be torn or soiled without concern." He also advised them to pay attention to hygiene and to address problems related to diseases and nourishment. Influenced by eugenics, Fukuzawa also favored the idea of improving the "Japanese race" not only through a healthy and educated mother, but also through intermarriage with foreigners, most likely with North Americans and Europeans.[153]

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[150] Rima Apple points to a similar effect of the creation of "scientific motherhood" in the United States. On the promotion of "scientific motherhood" in the U.S., see Rima D. Apple, "Constructing Mothers: Scientific Motherhood in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Mothers and Motherhood: Readings in American History*, ed. Rima D. Apple and Janet Golden (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1997), 90-110.

[151] Christian Oberlander, "The Rise of Western 'Scientific Medicine' in Japan: Bacteriology and Beriberi," in *Building a Modern Nation: Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Meiji Era and* Beyond, ed. Morris Low (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 13-36; Morris Low, "Introduction," *Building a Modern Nation: Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Meiji Era and* Beyond, ed. Morris Low (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 3.

[152] Mori, "On Wives and Concubines," part four, 252.

Women's reproductive function was important to Fukuzawa, but implicit in his argument that a wife should not be blamed for failing to bear a child is the view that a woman's worth and identity was not based solely on her reproductive capability. Failure to bear a child, Fukuzawa rightly noted, could be due to various reasons, such as biological, psychological, and other health conditions not just of the wife, but also of the husband.[154] Fukuzawa's argument had profound implications for women's identity and status. Sometimes giving birth to a child served as the basis to legalize a marriage – a wife's name was added to the family register (*kôseki*) only after she had given birth. In other words, it was the birth of a child that legitimized the woman's position as a member of her husband's household.[155] Also, Fukuzawa's view, in part, challenged the "good wife, wise mother" ideology, which promoted the idea that it was "natural" for women and it was their duty to give birth and take care of their children.

Despite Fukuzawa's emphasis on equal rights between husband and wife (*fûfu dôken*), his arguments for *fûfu dôken* did not translate into equal rights for men and women (*danjo dôken*). He did not consider the important role women played inside their homes as sufficient basis from which to advocate for the protection of women workers, for the granting of their right to participate in political activities and to attend political meetings, and to vote.[156] Nonetheless, his emphasis on the improvement of women's conditions in the home may be regarded as a first step toward the acquisition of women's rights outside of marriage. In this sense, his notion of *fûfu dôken* was integral to the realization of *danjo dôken*. Also, it can be argued that ideas of Meiji reformers, such as Fukuzawa, that stressed the improvement women's domestic position laid the groundwork for the campaign of later feminists like Hiratsuka Raichô who, in the mid-1910s, sought state support for women based on their contribution as mothers.[157]

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[153] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 220-21, 232-33; Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 6.

[154] Fukuzawa, "Critique of the Greater Learning for Women," 181.

[155] Hopper, *Fukuzawa Yukichi*, 104-05.

Still, some scholars have called Fukuzawa to task for his failure to advocate for women's rights outside the home. There is difficulty, Sievers suggests, in dissociating the notion of equality between husbands and wives from equal rights for men and women. "The challenge," according to her, "was to find a plausible (if not logical) argument, carefully drawn to make the distinction clear: Japanese women were not 'ready' for significant social roles outside the family, but they were more than capable of assuming greater power in the family to influence and educate Japan's future generation."[158] Yet, Fukuzawa did not rule out the possibility of attaining *danjo dôken*. In 1899, he wrote that there were "larger dreams" that he would leave to "women of the future." He would rather concentrate on what he believed was Japan's "urgent needs" at the time.[159] Of primary importance was finding solutions to fundamental social problems like polygamy and unreasonable divorces, which he considered as manifestations of the husband's lack of respect for his wife. As he asked in 1885, what was the use of educating women (and giving them the right to vote) when they were subjected to oppressive practices in their homes? After marriage, women were expected to become "traditional housewives" who were placed under the influence of their husbands and parents-in-law.[160]

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[156] In the United States, suffragists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries invoked women's domestic roles as a basis for granting women the right to vote. Similarly, in late nineteenth century France feminist Louise Koppe invoked the important role of mothers as a basis to advocate for the protection of women workers. Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 154; Anne Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity: Theories and Policies 1890-1918," in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*, eds. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 121.

[157] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 55-57.

[158] Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 20-22.

[159] Fukuzawa, "The New Greater Learning for Women," 222-23.

"A Friend of Japanese Women"

Unlike the other education reformers in this study, Fukuzawa did not found a school for women. The impact of his education ideas may be, therefore, assessed by exploring how his writings were viewed by women and men.

In his 1885 essay entitled, "Nihon fujinron" (Discourse on Japanese Women), Fukuzawa explained that his works did not mean "to side with women to contest their rights," nor was he acting as "women's agent in order to challenge men."[161] The underlying message seemed to be that Fukuzawa did not support equal rights of men and women (*danjo dôken*). Fukuzawa published this essay at a time when just two years earlier, the police stopped Kishida Toshiko's speech and arrested her when she denounced the family system as being responsible for gender inequality in Japan. Kishida had been touring Japan since the early 1880s, giving speeches under the platform of the liberty and people's rights movement (*jiyû minken undo*). She decried women's lack of equal rights and demanded equal educational opportunities for women. Inspired by Kishida's speech, the early 1880s witnessed an increased activity of women from many provinces as they formed lecture groups, petitioned for improved curriculum of the normal school, collected dues for the Liberal Party, and attended party rallies and other political events. In 1890 the Meiji government, under Article 5 of the Police Security

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[160] Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 12-13.
[161] Fukuzawa, "On Japanese Women," 36.

Regulations, barred women from attending political meetings and from becoming members of any political association. They were also prohibited from observing legislative sessions in the Diet.[162]

Despite Fukuzawa's insistence that he did not mean to promote equal rights of men and women and to encourage women to challenge men, his arguments for women's self-reliance and independence, and for their property rights, his renunciation of polygamy, and his insistence on mutual respect between the husband and wife certainly struck at the core of women's subordinate position to men. Not surprisingly, there were men who cautioned their wives and daughters against reading the "New Greater Learning for Women" – Fukuzawa's answer to the *Onna daigaku*. The "New Greater Learning for Women" was banned at the Nara Women's Higher Normal School. Also, a Christian school declared it as "too advanced for the reading of the girls."[163]

Notwithstanding Fukuzawa's intentions, it is important to pay attention to the readers' (women and men) views of his writings.[164] Women found strength and inspiration in his works. He was a "dear friend" to them and his works provided them with great solace. Feminist and birth-control pioneer, Ishimoto Shizue, noted how the "new ideas on women's education" expressed by Fukuzawa's writings left their "imprint upon women."[165] Overjoyed to read Fukuzawa's works, feminist Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980) related how they "made her feel as though a great weight had been lifted off her chest."[166] Fukuzawa inspired many girls to persevere in their efforts to acquire education for themselves despite the opposition of their parents.[167] Women mourned his death in February 3, 1901, including the one who "worshipped him more than any deity."[168]

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[162] Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 38, 41-42, 52.

[163] The Nara Women's Higher Normal School was established in 1909. Alice Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1891), 388.

[164] Similarly, although Fukuzawa did not support the movement for liberty and popular rights in the 1880s, his writing, *Gakumon no susume*, inspired many people to participate in this movement. Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 66-68.

[165] Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways*, 364.

Men like Matsuura Isami (1880-1962), a wealthy landlord from northeast Japan, were inspired by Fukuzawa's teachings. Matsuura Isami's relationship with his wife, Kou, and their childrearing practices echoed the teachings of Fukuzawa. He believed in monogamy as one of the foundations of a good marriage and he had a loving relationship with Kou. For example, he patiently explained to her western concepts, such as the jury system. Both husband and wife assumed joint responsibility in taking care of their fifteen children. He helped give the babies a bath, cut the children's hair, and baked cookies for their snacks. Like Fukuzawa, he stressed the importance of physical exercise for his daughters, who hiked in the mountains, swam in the river, and juggled bags filled with sand. He also supervised his sons' and daughters' education, and he required them to do their homework before they went out to play.

More importantly, Matsuura, like Fukuzawa, believed that it was necessary to educate women for the nation. Taking Fukuzawa's stance on women's education further, he provided all his eight daughters with higher education. They all went to college in Tokyo in the 1920s and 1930s, a time when higher education for women was still rare in Japan. Matsuura, historian Gail Lee Bernstein explains, was probably inspired not only by Fukuzawa's teachings, but also by his own literate step-great-grandmother and by the early nineteenth-century practice of wealthy peasant families who educated their daughters in order to enhance the family reputation and their daughters' value for marriage.[169]

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[166] Patricia Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 18 (2000): 10.

[167] Kôsaka Masaaki, *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, vol. 8, trans. David Abosch (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1969), 58.

[168] Miyamori Asatoro, *A Life of Mr. Fukuzawa* (Tokyo: Z.P. Maruya & Co., Ltd., 1902), 139.

In addition, people of influence like Mr. Sonoda, chief ministering officer of a Shinto shrine, promoted Fukuzawa's ideas on women and on domestic relations. A newspaper article in October 1900 reported about an "interesting marriage ceremony" officiated by Sonoda in front of the Nikko shrine, one of the holiest in Japan. During the wedding ceremony, Sonoda gave the bridegroom, Ueno Kintaro, and his bride copies of Fukuzawa's critique of the *Onna daigaku* and the "New Greater Learning for Women." He then urged the newly-married couple to "abide by the precepts set forth in the volumes and to lead together a virtuous and happy domestic life." [170] This case demonstrates how Fukuzawa's work, at least, as practiced by Sonoda, replaced the *Onna daigaku* as an essential guide for the bride and the bridegroom. Although it is difficult to ascertain the extent of this practice in the early twentieth century, the newspaper report suggested that it was not unique to Sonoda.[171] What it regarded most interesting was the uncommon venue for the wedding ceremony, not that copies of Fukuzawa's books were distributed or that the person who administered the wedding urged the couple to abide by Fukuzawa's teachings.[172]

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[169] Bernstein, "Matsuura Isami: A Modern Patriarch in Rural Japan," 140-41, 143, 148.

[170] "Old Marriage Custom," *The Japan Times*, 12 October 1900, 2.

[171] In Alice Mabel Bacon's book published in 1902, she cited a similar incident about a Shinto priest who gave a bride and her groom a copy of the *Onna daigaku* and Fukuzawa's books. Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 391.

[172] "Old Marriage Custom," *The Japan Times*, 12 October 1900, 2.

Conclusion

Fukuzawa's promotion of the education of women was, for the most part, propelled by his overarching goal to make Japan equal with the western powers. He shared the national goal to enrich and strengthen the nation. He espoused ideas on women's education that were, in part, compatible with those of the government bureaucrats, such as the importance of educating women for their domestic responsibilities. His argument for practical learning (*jitsugaku*) for women reinforced the dominant idea of marriage as the ultimate goal for women, but it also boosted the argument that it was necessary to educate women. Furthermore, Fukuzawa espoused ideals of womanhood that competed with the education bureaucrat's *ryôsai kenbo* ideal. In an attempt to maximize women's role as contributors to familial and national welfare, he promoted progressive ideas, such as the equality of husband and wife and women's economic independence. He supported women's economic independence, respect for "women's personhood," and monogamous relationship, issues that were central to the campaign for women's rights during the Meiji period.[173]

Fukuzawa's ideas on women's education invites rethinking of the notion of a Meiji "liberal" thinker – commonly applied to Fukuzawa – as someone who promoted individual interest vis-à-vis the national interest. These two were not contradictory in Fukuzawa's perspective. He regarded the education of women as a vehicle for individual advancement, as well as for familial and national progress. This chapter also complicates our understanding of the common general descriptors of Fukuzawa as "popularizer of western learning." Fukuzawa's varying methods to educate girls and women were not at all times anchored on "western learning." They were shaped by his shifting perception of what Japan must do in order to revise the unequal treaties with the western powers.

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[173] Molony, "Quest for Women's Rights," 463-92; Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 38.

CHAPTER FOUR

"To Teach Women the Spirit of Charity, Education, Nursing, and Evangelism": Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Women's Education

In her autobiography, Japan's first woman journalist, Hani Motoko (1873-1957), recalled how she became interested in enrolling at the Meiji Jogakkô in the early 1890s. "As an admirer of the periodical *Jogaku Zasshi* [Woman's Education Magazine]," Hani related, "it was natural that I aspired next to enter Meiji Jogakkô (Meiji Women's School), said to embody the ideals of the magazine."[1] Despite her family's financial difficulties, she was determined to enroll at the Meiji Jogakkô. She wrote twice to the principal, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, and went to his office without an appointment. Most likely impressed by Hani's perseverance, Iwamoto waived her tuition fee and gave her a part-time job in the editing room of the *Jogaku zasshi*, which was also under his management. The job paid for Hani's room and board, and prepared her for a writing career.[2] Hani was just one of the many women whom Iwamoto influenced profoundly.

This chapter examines Iwamoto Yoshiharu's (Zenji) arguments and efforts for women's education. It illuminates a Christian Japanese man's promotion of women's education during the mid-Meiji period. This was at a time when foreign Christian missionaries were at the forefront of the movement to educate girls and women in Japan. Iwamoto, like other Japanese Christians, also campaigned for women's education.[3]

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[1] Hani Motoko, "Stories of My Life" in *Heroic with Grace: Legendary Women of Japan*, trans. Chieko Irie Mulhern (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 247-48.

[2] Chieko Irie Mulhern, "Hani Motoko: The Journalist-Educator," in *Heroic with Grace: Legendary Women of Japan*, trans. Chieko Irie Mulhern (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 216.

[3] See, for example, Kiyoko Takeda Cho, "Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930)," in *Ten Great Educators of Modern Japan: A Japanese Perspective*, comp. and ed. Benjamen C. Duke (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989), 87-104; Kiyoko Takeda Cho, "Nitobe Inazô (1862-1933)," in *Ten Great Educators of Modern*

Iwamoto was the editor of the *Jogaku zasshi*, regarded as an "enlightenment journal" by many Meiji youth.[4] It was the first magazine devoted to advance the education of women. Iwamoto was also a teacher and later principal of the Meiji Jogakkô, which was known for producing "progressive women."[5] Iwamoto's story provides insights into how Christian and Japanese nationalistic sentiments intertwined and served as the basis for a reformist agenda for women's education. It also illuminates the significant part Japanese Christians played in the education of Japanese women, a role usually accorded to foreign Christian missionaries.[6]

This chapter positions Iwamoto's identity as Japanese and as Christian at the center of his promotion of women's education. His views and efforts emerged out of his successful navigation of the tensions embodied by his dual identities. His ideas on appropriate education for women constitute, for the most part, a synthesis of his Christian beliefs and the evolving gender ideals in Meiji Japan.[7] He promoted a new idea of

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Japan: A Japanese Perspective, comp. and ed. Benjamen C. Duke (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989), 105-24.

[4] Sôma Kokkô, *Mokui – Meiji, Taisho bungakushi kaisô* [Silent Changes: Literary Reminiscences of the Meiji and Taisho Periods] (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku shuppankyoku, 1961), cited in Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 8.

[5] Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 216.

[6] Ai Hoshino, "The Education of Women," in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. Nitobe Inazô, et.al. (University of Chicago Press, 1931), 221; Kawai Michi and Kubushirô Ochimi, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), 67; Harada Kiyoko, "Kurisuto kyô to sono shûhen no josei kan" [Christianity and its philosophy about women] in *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], ed. Sumiko Tanaka (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), 62; Ann M. Harrington, "Women and Higher Education in the Japanese Empire," *Journal of Asian History* 21 (1987): 172-73; Kimi Hara, "Challenges to Education for Girls and Women in Modern Japan: Past and Present," in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Fumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1995), 98-99; Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 12; Michael Brownstein, "*Jogâku Zasshi* and the Founding of the *Bungakukai*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (Autumn 1980): 321.

[7] Although Harada Kiyoko maintains that Iwamoto's ideas were shaped by his Christian and nationalistic views, she considers these two as incompatible. Harada Kiyoko, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no fujin kaihô shisô to sono henyô" [Iwamoto Yoshiharu's Ideas for Women's Emancipation and Their Transformation], in *Josei kaihô no shisô to kôdô senzen hen* [Thought and Action of Women's Liberation in Prewar Era], ed. Sumiko Tanaka (Tokyo: Jiji tsûshin, 1979), 65-67.

womanhood that combined domesticity – anchored in women's role as moral guardians – with charitable and social reform activities. He therefore elevated women's position in the home and widened their roles beyond the domestic sphere. Although he stressed the importance of training women for their responsibilities as wives and mothers, he regarded such training as the first step toward the acquisition of women's political rights.

Iwamoto's campaign to educate women has been a subject of both English- and Japanese-language scholarship on Iwamoto, but conclusions about the nature of his ideas are mixed. Japanese scholars, such as Iwahori Yôko, Noheiji Kiyoe, and Harada Kiyoko, trace the origins of women's emancipation and the women's rights movement in Japan to the *Jogaku zasshi* and, by extension, to Iwamoto.[8] Others suggest that Iwamoto was interested mainly in improving women's domestic condition.[9] Rebecca Copeland's fine work that examines the lives and careers of Meiji women writers Miyake Kaho (1868-1944), Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-1896), and Shimizu Shikin (1868-1933) considers Iwamoto's conception of women as morally superior and having authority at home as distinct, but it argues that his visions of femininity were no different from the Confucian feminine ideal portrayed in the *Onna daigaku*.[10] Given these contradictory perspectives on Iwamoto's ideas, it is necessary to reexamine his arguments and further contextualize his promotion of women's education.

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[8] Iwahori Yôko, "*Jogaku Zasshi* (The Women's Magazine) and the Construction of the Ideal Wife in the Mid-Meiji Era," trans. Richard V. Saberton, in *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 2, eds. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, and Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2001), 411; Noheiji Kiyoe, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû: Iwamoto Yoshiharu to Jogaku zasshi* [The Origins of the Ideology of Women's Liberation: Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Jogaku Zasshi] (Tokyo: Azekura shobô, 1984); Harada, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no fujin kaihô shisô," 65-69.

[9] Kinoshita Hiromi, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no joshi kyôiku shisô: Kindaiteki katei no sôzô to fujin no ningenteki hattatsu" [Iwamoto Yoshiharu's Thoughts on Women's Education: The Structure of the Modern Household and Women's Human Development], *Kyôikugaku kenkyû* [Pedagogical Research] (1985), cited in Iwahori, "*Jogaku Zasshi*," 411; Harada, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no fujin kaihô shisô," 65-69.

[10] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 26-27.

This chapter utilizes editorials and articles in the *Jogaku zasshi*, articles in the *Tsûshin jogaku*, personal accounts of Japanese Christians and foreign Christian missionaries, as well as newspaper accounts to reveal new understandings of Iwamoto's thinking on women's education. Despite the significance of the *Jogaku zasshi*, few English-language works have utilized this source material, especially in relation to the history of Japanese women and of women's education.[11] *Tsûshin jogaku*, a correspondence course for women that Iwamoto launched in 1887, is another source material many scholars have often overlooked.[12] This was first included as supplementary information in the *Jogaku zasshi* from January to May 1889.[13] It included lectures in physiology, childcare, Japanese literature, domestic science, economy, and history. Most of the lectures were unsigned, presumably written by Iwamoto himself, while others were written by different authors. This study also draws on accounts of Meiji Jogakkô students to further illuminate Iwamoto's approach to women's education.

The first section of this chapter examines the factors that helped shape Iwamoto's interest in women's education. The second section explores the context of Iwamoto's campaign by focusing on the Japanese critique of the Christian girls' school movement and the foreign Christian missionaries in general. The third section examines Iwamoto's arguments for women's education. It begins with an analysis of his reasons for why women needed to be educated. Next, I examine his prescriptions on the ways to educate women by focusing on his arguments for women's higher education, for the "good wife, wise mother" education, and for women's education beyond the home. This chapter concludes by explaining how Iwamoto's successful navigation of the tensions embodied in his identity as Japanese and Christian figured in his promotion of women's education. It also discusses his profound influence on women in Japan.

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[11] Some exceptions are Copeland, *Lost Leaves*; Barbara Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights in Turn-of-the-Century Japan," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 463-92.

[12] Iwahori Yôko and Michael Brownstein noted the existence of the *Tsûshin jogaku*, but their work focused on the *Jogaku zasshi*.

[13] In 1889 Iwamoto stopped the publication of the home-study section in order to make room for editorials related to the first Diet election. The *Tsûshin jogaku* resumed publication in January 1890.

Yôgaku, Christianity, and Women's Education

Iwamoto's early interest in women's education can be traced, for the most part, to the influence of Japanese Christian advocates of women's education and to his subsequent conversion to Christianity. His pursuit of western study (*yôgaku*) brought him into contact with Japanese Christians who believed in the necessity of educating women.

On June 15, 1863, Iwamoto was born as the second son of Inoue Tôheibei and his wife Ritsu. Inoue was a samurai from Tajima province (now Hyogo Prefecture) in western Honshu. Iwamoto had two brothers and two sisters. The Inoue family was a small-stipend samurai family. After the Meiji government abolished the domains (*han*) in 1871, the family engaged in some business. Iwamoto's older brother, Toutaro, became a sea transportation merchant in Yokohama.[14]

In most existing works on Iwamoto, not much has been written about his childhood experience. His mother, Ritsu, died in 1873 when he was ten years old. At the time, his three-year-old sister Kame was adopted by his uncle. Four years before his mother's death, the then six-year-old Iwamoto became an adopted son of Iwamoto Noriharu, an older brother of his mother. Noriharu, an expert in calligraphy and in prose and poetry (*shibun*), did not have an heir, and Iwamoto thereafter assumed his family name.[15] Iwamoto did not write much about life with his adoptive family. However, his editorial in the *Jogaku zasshi* in 1888 about the difficult and lonely life of a "freeloader" (*isôrô*) – a lodger who paid nothing for room and board – seemed to mirror his own experience.[16] In this story, the "freeloader," a samurai son who lived with another family when he was six years old, deeply missed his mother's love and care. Like the "freeloader," Iwamoto's separation from his own family at the age of six left a deep scar in his heart.[17]

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[14] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 165.

Like many young sons of the former samurai (now called *shizoku*), the fourteen-year-old Iwamoto went to Tokyo in 1877 in order to seek out new opportunities for himself. Given the Meiji government's efforts to modernize the country through the adoption of western ideas and technology, many young samurai men became attracted to western studies as a potential vehicle for socio-economic advancement. The dire situation of Iwamoto's family must have pushed him to pursue similar studies. Unlike his old (Inoue) family who turned to business after the Meiji Restoration, Iwamoto Noriharu was not that open to exploring new avenues for livelihood. Iwamoto must have felt the pressure to support his adoptive family.

It is not clear when Iwamoto began to think about the importance of educating women, but his studies at Dôninsha and Nôgakusha certainly influenced his thinking on why women needed to be educated. In 1876, the fourteen-year-old Iwamoto entered Dôninsha in Koishikawa, Tokyo to study English. Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891) established this school in February 1873.[18] He was among the first prominent figures in Japan to be baptized as a Christian. He was a staunch advocate of women's education, and, in particular, one of the early advocates of "good wife, wise mother" (*ryôsai kenbo*) education.[19] In 1875, Nakamura published an article in the *Meiroku zasshi*, which stressed the importance of training girls for their motherly duties. Such an education, he argued, was crucial to the advancement of the Japanese nation. As he wrote, "we must invariably have fine mothers if we want effectively to advance the people to the area of enlightenment. . . ."[20] Furthermore, in 1879 Nakamura opened a girls' school attached to Dôninsha. During the school's opening ceremony, he explained why women needed to be educated: "Women, you know, are the founders of homes and trainers of children. In order to have good children, the mothers must be good and that is the object of this school – to turn out cultivated, noble, good women."[21] Throughout this time when Nakamura promoted the education of women, the young Iwamoto attended school in his home. It is not, therefore, surprising that Iwamoto was influenced by Nakamura's zeal to educate women.[22]

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[15] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 166, 168; Fujita Yoshimi, *Meiji Jogakkô no sekai* [The World of Meiji Girls' School] (Tokyo: Seeisha, 1984), 28-29.
[16] Iwamoto, "Nihon no kazoku" [Japanese Family], *Jogaku zasshi* 96, 11 February 1888.
[17] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 170.

In 1880, after a four-year study at Dôninsha, Iwamoto entered the Gakunôsha. This was an agricultural college founded in 1876 by Tsuda Sen (1837-1908), Tsuda Umeko's father. Gakunôsha was considered as one of the leading schools for western learning at the time. Tsuda was widely recognized in the field of agriculture. Nitobe Inazô's eulogy to Tsuda, published in the *Kokumin shimbun* on April 27, 1907, especially recognized him for his scientific approach to agriculture in Japan.[23] He invented the agricultural implement called Tsuda *nawa* (rope), which was used to artificially stimulate pollination to increase production of grain crops. He also introduced vegetables and fruits foreign to Japan.[24]

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[18] Dôninsha was a government-supported school located in a scholar's home (*kajuku*). Yamaji Aizan, "On Nakamura Masanao," trans. Graham Squires, *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christianity in Meiji Japan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, 1999), 70.

[19] Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), 22.

[20] Nakamura Masanao, "Creating Good Mothers," *Meiroku Zasshi* 33, March 1875, in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 401-04.

[21] Clara M. Whitney, *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan*, eds. M. William Steele and Tamiko Ichimata (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1979), 235.

[22] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 183.

Like Nakamura, Tsuda was a supporter of women's education. On May 1, 1879, during the opening of Nakamura's Dôninsha Girls' School, Tsuda spoke against the neglect of the education of girls over that of boys. He compared this situation to a plum tree that was growing in a lopsided way, "one side tall, shapely and blooming with fair promise of abundant fruit, the other deformed and barren." He, therefore, urged the Japanese people to "let both grow together into a tree which shall delight the eyes of beholders."[25] Among those who were present when Tsuda delivered this speech at the Dôninsha Girls' School were the students from his school. He was determined to promote women's education through his speeches and initiatives, including exposing the Gakunôsha students to projects supportive of the education of women. Such an atmosphere must have stimulated Iwamoto's interest in the importance of women's education.

Iwamoto's studies at the Dôninsha and Gakunôsha also exposed him to Christianity. The Christian belief that all human beings are equal before God, in turn, influenced his thinking on why it was necessary to educate women.[26] At the Gakunôsha, Tsuda Sen sought to propagate Christian values among the students and he invited Japanese pastor Kôzaki Hiromichi to hold regular Sunday sermons at the school.[27] Julius Soper, an American pastor, also preached to the Gakunôsha students, as he did at Dôninsha. It was this environment that sowed the Christian faith in Iwamoto's heart.[28]

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[23] Yamazaki Takako, "Tsuda Ume (1864-1929)," 131-32.
[24] Furuki Yoshiko, *The White Plum, A Biography of Ume Tsuda: Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991), 48.
[25] Whitney, *Clara's Diary*, 235.

It was Kimura Kumaji (1845-1927), who returned to Japan in 1882 after thirteen years of study in the United States, who baptized Iwamoto into Christianity. Kimura opened a private tutoring school at Taninaka Hatsune-chô, Tokyo in 1883, and Iwamoto was one of his students. Like Iwamoto, Kimura was also from Tajima province and their families knew each other. Kimura's brother, Sakurai Tsutomu, studied in the domain school where Iwamoto's uncle taught. In April 29, 1883, Kimura, then a minister at the Yotsuya Shitaya church, baptized Iwamoto. He thereafter became a member of this church.[29] Iwamoto was baptized at a time when, as Noheiji points out, the informal social gatherings of Christian Japanese believers, which included Tsuda Sen and Kimura Kumaji, were at their height.[30]

Iwamoto's interaction with Kimura Kumaji and his wife, Tôko (1848-1886), stoked his interest in women's education. It led to his involvement in an education project for girls, the Meiji Jogakkô. Iwamoto became a teacher and later principal of this non-denominational Christian school that Kumaji and Tôko established in 1885.[31] This school evolved from the women's association (*fujinkai*) that Tôko organized at the Shitaya church in 1884.[32]

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[26] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 194.

[27] Kôzaki Hiromichi, *Reminiscences of Seventy Years: The Autobiography of a Japanese Pastor* (Tokyo: Christian Literature Society of Japan, 1933), 66.

[28] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 197.

[29] Harada, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no fujin kaihô," 65, 207. The Shitaya church seemed to be affiliated with the non-denominational Japan United Church of Christ (*Nippon kiristo itchi kyôkai*) organized in 1877 by the American Presbyterian, the Reformed (Dutch), and the Scotch United Presbyterian missionary societies. It was renamed Church of Christ (*Nihon kirisuto kyôkai* or NKK) in 1890. Pastor H. Ritter, *History of Protestant Mission in Japan*, trans. Rev. George E. Albrecht (Tokyo: The Methodist Publishing House, 1898), 76. Mizugaki Kiyoshi, *One Hundred Years of Evangelism in Japan: Ballagh, Mc Alpine, Mc Alpine*, trans. J.A. Mc Alpine (Columbus Georgia: Quill Publications, 1986), 33-34.

[30] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 195, 197, 207.

When the Meiji Jogakkô opened in 1885, it advertised a three-year high school for girls who finished higher elementary education. Unlike the public high schools for girls, the Meiji Jogakkô curriculum included among its required courses Japanese history (*Nihon rekishi*), psychology (*shinrigaku*), ethics (*rinrigaku*), ancient and modern western history (*Ōbeikokindaishi*), biology (*seibutsugaku*), science/astronomy (*rika tenmongaku*), economics (*keizaigaku*), English literature (*eibungaku*), sociology (*shakaigaku*), Chinese history (*shinarekishi*), Japanese literature (*Nihonbungaku*), and pedagogy (*kyôikugaku*). Furthermore, in contrast to the curricula of public high schools for girls, the Meiji Jogakkô made domestic science (*kaseigaku*) an optional course. Other optional subjects were philosophy, mathematics, German language, religious study, music, and painting. Those who wanted to proceed beyond the three-year regular course could take up an advanced two-year course. Overall, the five-year course at the Meiji Jogakkô included the English language (*Eigogaku*), geography (*chirigaku*), history (*rekishi*), zoology (*dôbutsugaku*), botany (*shokubutsugaku*), mineralogy (*kôbutsugaku*), physiology (*seirigaku*), physics (*butsurigaku*), chemistry (*kagaku*), mathematics (*sûgaku*), and Chinese writing (*kanbungaku*). School textbooks were written by both foreign and Japanese authors. For example, the spelling textbook for third-year English language was by Webster, while the writing book was by Spencer. The third-year world history course used Swinton's *General History of the World*, the same book used by an American mission school for girls in Kobe in the late 1880s. The textbook for Japanese history was written by Tanaya.[33] The school advertisement also listed, aside from Kimura and Iwamoto, prominent Christian Japanese like Uemura Masahisa (1858-1925) and Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930) as instructors in the school.[34]

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[31] Brownstein, "Jogaku Zasshi," 320.

[32] Fujita, *Meiji Jogakkô no sekai*, 19-20. On Kimura Tôko's activities, see Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 198.

Iwamoto taught and assisted Tôko in managing the school, a responsibility that he continued to assume after she died from cholera in 1886. He became principal of the Meiji Jogakkô in 1892 when Kumaji resigned from his post and moved to Nagano to do evangelical work under the Reformed Church of America (RCA).[35] During the second anniversary of Tôko's death, Iwamoto wrote about his great respect and affection for her. He pledged to continue her dying wish to promote the education of women.[36]

Aside from stimulating Iwamoto's interest in women's education, Iwamoto's studies at the Gakunôsha paved the way for the beginning of his writing career. In 1881, he started writing for Tsuda's *Nôgyô zasshi* (Journal of Agriculture), a journal that disseminated "ideas on nutrition, healthy eating habits, and socially responsible attitudes toward nature – human and otherwise." However, after Iwamoto's work at the *Nôgyô zasshi*, his writing manifested his growing interest in women's education as it "gravitated more from improvement of carrots and eggplant to improvement of women." He assisted Kondô Kenzô, a fellow student at the Nôgakusha, in publishing the *Jogaku shinshi* (New Magazine for Women's Education). Launched in 1884, the *Jogaku shinshi* published only for a few months, but its short life did not discourage Kondô and Iwamoto from publishing another magazine. A year later, they launched the *Jogaku zasshi*. When Kondô died in 1886, Iwamoto became the sole editor of the *Jogaku zasshi*, which became the venue through which he waged his reformist campaign for the education of women.[37]

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[33] Aoyama Nao, *Aoyama Nao o chosakushû* [Aoyama Nao Collection], dai ni kan [vol. 2]: *Meiji Jogakkô no kenkyû* [Study on the Meiji Jogakkô] (Keiô tsûshin, 1982), 572-73, 783-84; Sumie Mishima, *My Narrow Isle: The Story of a Modern Woman in Japan* (Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1941), 17-18.

[34] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkô no kenkyû*, 572.

[35] In 1911 Kimura Kumaji was listed as the pastor of a church in Nagano city organized under the auspices of the RCA. The Meiji Jogakkô closed in 1908. Mizugaki, *One Hundred Years of Evangelism*, 48.

[36] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 198.

Japanese Critique of the Christian Girls' Schools

In order to better understand Iwamoto's motivations and the nature of his prescriptions for women, it is necessary to locate his promotion of women's education at the center of the encounters between foreign Christian missionaries and Japanese Christians, and between Japanese Christians and non-Christians. Such an approach reveals the two-pronged goal of Iwamoto's support for women's education. It aimed to preserve Japanese sovereignty amidst western and Christian influences in Japanese education, as well as to spread Christian-influenced ideas of women's social roles. Scholars tend to highlight the Christian basis of Iwamoto's perspective, without paying attention to its nationalistic dimension.[38] Both were of equal importance to Iwamoto.

Soon after the ban on Christianity was lifted in Japan in 1873, ten foreign Christian missionary organizations were established in the country. Foreign Christian missions founded girls' schools (*jogakkô*) whose students were expected to spread the Christian beliefs in their families and, by extension, the whole nation.[39] Foreign missionaries also saw an opportunity to focus on the promotion of education for girls, a field in which they did not face much competition from the government.[40] Commonly known as Christian girls' schools (*yasokyôkai jogakkô*) or "Jesus schools," they were managed mostly by female missionaries from Protestant churches, such as Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and Episcopalian. Some were also Catholics. These women came from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and France.[41] Mrs. Hepburn, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, was one of the first foreign female missionaries in Japan. She established the first girls' school in Yokohama in 1870, two years before the government built its first school for girls, the Tokyo Jogakkô.[42]

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[37] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 14-15. On Iwamoto and the *Jogaku zasshi*, see Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*.

[38] See, for example, Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 126.

[39] Elizabeth K. Eder, *Constructing Opportunity: American Women Educators in Early Meiji Japan* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), 94, 96.

[40] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 24.

Foreign Christian missionaries played a vital role in the movement for women's education, especially during the first two decades of the Meiji era.[43] They helped fulfill the Meiji government's goal to educate Japanese girls. They provided Japan with foreign teachers who were needed to spread western learning. Mission-sponsored girls' schools outnumbered the ones established by the national government until the 1880s.[44] In the 1870s there were nine Christian girls' schools, compared with only one national government-funded, the Tokyo Jogakkô.[45] Until 1889, when the government established the Tokyo Kôtô Jogakkô (Tokyo Women's Higher School), eleven mission-funded girls' schools provided secondary education in Japan.[46]

There was a high demand for Christian girls' schools and for foreign teachers until the mid-1880s. In urban areas like Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe, there were reports of overcrowded classrooms and teachers who were forced to deny admission to girls even if they were willing to pay tuition and boarding fees. There was also a need for foreign teachers who could supervise the girls' schools in places like Sendai and Nagoya.[47] Local elites built schools in order to attract foreign teachers, many of whom were attached to the Christian missions.[48] In 1877, for example, government officials in Niigata and other "influential men of the province" donated money and raised funds to build a school and a dormitory. Not to be left behind, the people in Yonezawa offered to provide a school building and to shoulder its maintenance cost "if only a foreign teacher would come."[49]

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[41] In 1873, there was one Catholic-sponsored girls' school with fifteen students. In 1887, the Roman Catholic missionaries, including priests and nuns, were mainly from France. *The Japan Weekly Mail* (26 November 1887), cited in Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions* (New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1909), 336, 351-52.

[42] Mrs. Hepburn turned over the management of the school to another American missionary, Mary E. Kidder. The school later became known as "Miss Kidder's School," and renamed Ferris Seminary in 1875.

[43] Harrington, "Women and Higher Education," 172; Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 215; Harada, "Kuristo kyô to sono shûhen no josei kan," 62; Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 135-36.

[44] Harrington, "Women and Higher Education," 172.

[45] In addition, there were three private non-Christian schools, which included a sewing school, Atomi Women's School, and Ueda Women's School. Mulhern noted that the Tokyo Jogakkô catered mainly to "upper-class" girls. Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 135-36; Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 214-15.

[46] Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 214-15.

Yet, the high number of girls and women who enrolled in Christian girls' schools and the demand for foreign missionary educators did not necessarily signal Japanese endorsement of the Christian religion. Parents regarded the foreign Christian missionaries as their country's "best hope" for foreign teachers who could provide their daughters with "western education."[50] Such kind of education represented their attempt to "come abreast of the times."[51] Furthermore, the "men of new Japan" argued that "better-educated women would make better homes."[52] Implicit here was their hope that they could improve their daughters' chance of having a good marriage through their western education. Such views also resonated with state and non-state reformers' argument that it was important to educate women because of their domestic duties. Students between the ages of nine to twenty came to study at the Christian schools.[53] Daughters and wives of local government officials, of wealthy merchants, and of army officers learned about the English language and many things western, including foreign etiquette and housekeeping, and foreign ways of sewing.

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[47] Mary E. Burton, *The Education of Women in Japan* (New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1914), 51-55. There were foreign teachers in girls' schools (e.g., Margaret Clark Griffis) who were not affiliated with any mission school, but many of the American women teachers (e.g., Dora E. Schoonmaker) were sent to Japan by the Protestant churches. On Margaret Clark Griffis and Dora E. Schoonmaker, see Eder, *Constructing Opportunity*.

[48] It must be noted that even before the new Meiji education system was adopted in 1872, schools were built in various prefectures through the efforts of prefectural government officials, former domain lords, and prominent businessmen. Many of these schools were incorporated into the new education system in 1872. See Fukuzawa's account of the schools in Kyoto which were established through local initiatives beginning in 1869. Fukuzawa Yukichi,"Kyôto gakkô no ki" [The School System in Kyoto], in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshû* 20: 77-81, translated in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1985), 73-78.

[49] Burton, *The Education of Women in Japan*, 51-55.

[50] Ibid., 58-59.

[51] Samuel M. Hilburn, *Gaines Sensei: Missionary to Hiroshima* (Kobe: The Friend-sha, 1936), 42.

[52] Alice Mabel Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1902), 372.

Despite the popularity of foreign Christian girls' schools and foreign missionary teachers, questions and criticisms regarding their approach to women's education emerged, especially after the mid-1880s. Students and parents expressed their concerns over the foreign teachers' inability to teach appropriate values and skills for Japanese women. For example, Sôma Kokkô (1876-1955), who attended the Miyagi Women's School in Sendai, was in doubt about the usefulness of her education: "We had been encouraged only in English and as we faced graduation, we had been equipped with no skill that would aid us as Japanese women."[54] Underlying Sôma's concern was the belief that knowledge of the English language was insufficient for her education. Furthermore, there were parents who feared that their daughters would convert to Christianity.[55] Some parents removed their daughters from the Hiroshima Eiwa Jogakkô after they heard reports of students attending Sunday schools.[56]

Education reformers also lodged their complaints against Christian girls' schools and the foreign missionary teachers. Scholars generally attribute these criticisms to the Confucianists, but among the most vocal critics were non-Confucian reformers like

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[53] Aside from English, there was also interest in other foreign languages like French and German. Burton, *The Education of Women in Japan*, 53, 57, 59-60; Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 215.
[54] Sôma, *Mokui-meiji*, 11, cited in Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 12.
[55] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 404.
[56] Hilburn, *Gaines Sensei*, 45.

Iwamoto and, as discussed in chapter three, Fukuzawa.[57] Like Fukuzawa, Iwamoto's complaints against the Christian girls' schools were, in part, linked to the issue of maintaining national sovereignty. Iwamoto rejected western cultural hegemony by asserting the importance of what were emphasized as Japanese values, such as loyalty and filial piety. He decried the foreign missionary teachers' emphasis on "western culture" and their neglect of Japanese values and practical skills for women.[58] He underscored the importance of Japanese culture when he asked, "those who study in Christian schools speak English, read books, know a lot about western culture, but what about Japanese culture?"[59] In his editorials published in January and September 1887, Iwamoto maintained that girls' school (*jogakkô*) education prioritized the teaching of western culture, English language, western history, and the Bible.[60] Although he tried to couch his criticisms in general terms by focusing on *jogakkô* education, he was obviously taking shots at the foreign missionaries who provided most of the *jogakkô* education at the time. Many of the girls' schools, he contended, were mainly for profit and they neglected to provide appropriate lessons for girls.[61] A year later, Iwamoto again questioned the usefulness of the education provided by the Christian girls' schools, and this time the target of his editorial was clear. "I appreciate the efforts of the westerners who dedicated themselves to improving Japanese women's morals, but these seem too much," he wrote. Aside from saving souls, he argued, foreign missionary teachers must ensure that children respect their parents, wives help their husbands, and mothers teach their children.[62] Like Fukuzawa, Iwamoto also noted the impracticality of the mission-sponsored education to Japanese girls when he pointed out that students knew how to wear accessories, but they did not know how to sew the holes in their clothes.[63]

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[57] Iwahori, "Jogakku Zasshi," 404.

[58] In the 1920s, similar criticisms regarding the neglect of courses on Chinese history and culture were expressed by the Chinese against the foreign Christian mission schools in China. See Dan Cui, "British Protestant Educational Activities and the Nationalization of Chinese Education in the 1920s," in *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, eds. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 2001), 155.

[59] Iwamoto, "Tôkon jogakusei no kokoro zashi wa ikaga," 1-3.

[60] Iwamoto, "Joseito no tsuma" [School Girls as Wives], *Jogaku zasshi* 49, 29 January 1887, 1-3; "Tôkon jogakusei no kokoro zashi wa ikaga" [What Do the Modern School Girls Aim For?], *Jogaku zasshi* 75, 10 September 1887,1-3; "Jogakkô no ron" [On the Girls' School], *Jogaku zasshi* 76, September 1887, 1-2.

[61] Iwamoto, "Jogakkô no ron," 1-2. It must be noted, however, that some mission schools provided scholarships to students who were financially incapable of paying for their tuition fees and other related expenses.

Iwamoto's critique of the education provided to girls by the foreign Christian missionaries was similar to the views of other Japanese Christians. In an 1895 report about the state of evangelistic work in Japan, Reverend A. Miyake maintained that foreign mission schools undertook a "wholesale introduction of European systems and customs." They taught "too much" English and gave less attention to Japanese and Chinese literature. They also failed to impart "practical knowledge," which had mainly to do with the woman's domestic duties, such as sewing, cooking, and housekeeping. "The indispensable accomplishment of Japanese women," Miyake declared, "is practical skill in domestic affairs."[64]

Underlying Iwamoto's critique of the education provided by the Christian girls' schools was his rejection of the foreign Christian missionaries as educators of girls and women in Japan. An examination of the school curricula of various Christian girls' schools and the accounts of students and teachers reveals that Iwamoto's complaints were not entirely valid. First, missionaries adopted varied approaches to Japanese women's education. There were those who did not think that it was necessary to replace Japanese culture with the American and Anglo-Saxon ways and ideas.[65] Nannie B. Gaines, for example, believed that education for Japanese girls should not be superimposed, "involving a radical break with the long and precious heritage of the past, but building upon it so as to realize unfulfilled possibilities." She raised the following questions that reveal her approach to Japanese women's education: "Ought we try to change the Japanese woman by education? Can these admirable traits be kept and still give her a broader outlook?"[66]

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[62] Iwamoto, "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku" [The Future of the Japanese Nation: Girls' Education], *Jogaku zasshi* 141, 22 December 1888, 1-3.

[63] Iwamoto, "Tôkon jogakusei no kokoro zashi wa ikaga," 1-3.

[64] Rev. A. Miyake, "Evangelistic Work in Japan," *The Japan Evangelist* I, no. 2, December 1893, 115.

Second, there were Christian girls' schools that taught the courses Iwamoto deemed appropriate for Japanese women. They offered a hybrid curriculum, which reflected the foreign missionaries' attempt to strike a balance between surviving in uncertain and often hostile conditions and actualizing their primary goal to spread Christianity in Japan.[67] For example, lessons at the Joshi Shôgakkô, established in Azabu, Tokyo in 1874 and supported by the American Methodist- Episcopal church, were given in both English and Japanese.[68] There were lessons on the English language (reading, writing, composition), the Bible and catechism, as well as Japanese calligraphy, *kanbun*

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[65] An example of one who did was the foreign headmaster of the Ferris Seminary (formerly Miss Kidder's school) who proudly declared when Wakamatsu Shizuko graduated from this school in 1882 that she was "not only versed in the English idiom, but has an Anglo-Saxon way of thinking and perceiving things." Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 13, 106-107.

[66] Hilburn, *Gaines Sensei*, 46-47.

[67] Dorothy Robins-Mowry, "Not a Foreigner, but a *Sensei* – a Teacher: Nannie B. Gaines of Hiroshima," in *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, ed. Leslie Flemming (London: Westview Press, 1989), 93.

[68] The Joshi Shôgakkô was officially named Kyusei Jogakkô (Salvation Girls' School) in 1875 and renamed Kaigan Jogakkô (Seaside Girls' School) in 1877. It was managed by American Dora E. Schoonmaker. The Kwassui Jogakkô in Nagasaki also offered a similar curriculum. It had a practical arts department, which gave instructions in Japanese and western sewing, cooking, knitting; a Japanese department that offered lessons in Japanese language and history; and an English department that had courses on the English language, mathematics, and science (zoology, botany, biology, physics, chemistry, geology).. Karen Sue Engelman, "A Japanese Missionary School for Girls: Women's Spirituality in the Process of Modernization," (Ed. D. thesis, Columbia University Teacher's College, 1990), 51.

(translation of Chinese characters for reading in Japanese), and sewing.[69] In the 1880s Canadian Methodist schools like the Toyo Eiwa Jogakkô in Azabu, Tokyo, the Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkô, and the girls' school in Kofu, Yamanashi Prefecture offered curricula that were highly similar to that of the government schools.[70] In addition, Christian schools gave bible lessons under the morals course, which also included lessons on the Imperial Rescript of Education. Furthermore, while attending an American mission school for girls in Kobe in the late 1880s, Mishima Sumie's mother memorized Swinton's *General History of the World* and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, side by side with the *Dialogues* of Confucius and the rules of the tea ceremony.[71]

Beginning in 1890, Christian girls' schools found it even more difficult to spread Christian teachings. The Imperial Rescript of Education was issued, reasserting the importance of moral education that emphasized the Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety. On August 3, 1899 the Ministry of Education issued Ordinance No. 12, which prohibited religious (meaning Christian) instruction and ceremonies in public and private schools licensed by the ministry.[72] Representatives from six Christian schools (Aoyama Gakuin, Azabu Eiwa Gakkô, Dôshisha, Rikkyo Chûgakkô, Meiji Gakuin, Nagoya Eiwagakkô) petitioned the Ministry of Education for exemption from this regulation, but the ministry denied their request citing its policy of the separation of education and religion. As a result, many Christian schools were forced to drop Bible lessons from their curriculum. Rather than doing this, the Canadian Methodist missionaries opted to sever their ties from the schools they supported.[73]

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[69] Eder, *Constructing Opportunity*, 102-04.
[70] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 24-25.
[71] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 17-18.
[72] Senju Katsumi, "The Development of Female Education in Private School," *Education in Japan: A Journal for Overseas*, vol. VI (1971): 40.

Third, foreign missionaries' teachings concerning the importance of women's domestic roles resonated with the ideas held by Iwamoto and other Japanese reformers, both Christians and non-Christians. Christian girls' schools promoted a Christianized version of the *ryôsai kenbo* ideal. Women's domestic roles were integral to the teachings of these schools, although, as Iwahori points out, previous studies tend to assume that "Western-style women's education was not centered around domestic duties."[74] Yet, as Emma Poorbaugh, an American who taught at the Miyagi Girls' School in Sendai in the early 1890s, explained: "Our aim was to fit the girls to be efficient Christian wives and mothers capable of training and helping to educate the future generation of Japanese children." [75] Another mission school, the Henrich Memorial School in Chofu in Yamaguchi Prefecture, sought to train girls to become "true Christian wives and mothers of future Japan" and to develop their character based on Christian precepts.[76] Students of Christian girls' schools were exhorted to keep their future homes pure, meaning free from immoral practices like prostitution and adultery, as well as to take care of their future parents-in-law and attend to the education of their children.[77]

Like the "movement for recovery of educational sovereignty" that emerged in China in the 1920s,[78] Christian Japanese reformers, as well as non-Christian ones, sought to regain control over the definition and dissemination of womanhood through appropriate education to girls and women. As Copeland points out, behind the founding of the Meiji Jogakkô in 1885 was the resentment of Kimura Kumaji and Toko, and Iwamoto over "the fact that American missionaries seemed to think that they had territorial rights to both Christianity and education" in Japan.[79] Indeed, Kimura's establishment of the Meiji Jogakkô caused some tensions between him and the Reformed Church in America (RCA) or the Dutch Reformed Church mission headed by Rev. James H. Ballagh (1832-1920). Kimura was affiliated with this mission when he founded the Meiji Jogakkô. The American leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church, however, regarded Kimura's school as a diversion from their major goal – to spread the Christian gospel throughout Japan. They were unhappy over Kimura's "divided service" between the school and the church because they wanted him and Tôko to go to Nagoya for evangelical work.[80]

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[73] "Presentation of the Petition for Religious Liberty in Private Schools," *The Japan Times* (6 December 1899): 3-4; Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 24-25.

[74] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 396.

[75] Emma Poorbaugh article [title not specified], 1932, cited in C. William Mensendiek, *A Dream Incarnate: The Beginnings of Miyagi Gakuin for Women* (Sendai, Japan: Miyagi Gakuin, 1986), 117-18n5.

[76] Shibayama Kô, "Henrich Memorial School, Chofu, Yamaguchi Ken," *The Japan Evangelist* I, no. 1, October 1893, 53.

[77] "The Christian Influence in the Home," *The Japan Evangelist* III, no. 5, June 1896, 288.

[78] Cui, "British Protestant Educational Activities," 138.

Iwamoto's promotion of women's education was related to the movement by Japanese Christians, which aimed towards devolution – "the gradual transference of powers and duties from the missionaries to the Christian nationals."[81] Mission schools in Japan underwent this transfer of power beginning in the early 1890s. Out of this process emerged tensions, which severely tested relationships between foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians. On the one hand, Japanese Christians wanted to manage the schools so they could implement, in the words of Kôzaki, "the real meaning of Christian education."[82] On the other hand, foreign missionaries resented the idea of giving up control over the management of Christian schools. Elizabeth (Lizzie) R. Poorbaugh, American principal of the Miyagi Girls' School beginning in 1887, alluded to the inexperience of the Japanese in managing the school as a reason for her opposition. "I feel that to give the school over to the Japanese would be to convert it into a sort of literary kalaidescope [sic] or experimental workshop for young Japanese men," she wrote.[83] Poorbaugh's comment also suggests her belief that compared to Japanese men she was in a much better position to teach Japanese girls because she was a woman.

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[79] Copeland seems to consider this to be an issue over who was in charge and what kind of education was given to Japanese girls. Like Michael Brownstein, she did not explicitly link this to the issue of national sovereignty. Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 13; Brownstein, "*Jogaku Zasshi*," 321.

[80] Kimura Kumaji to Rev. J.H. Ballagh, 10 February 1885; J.H. Ballagh to Kimura, 6 February 1886; "Copy of the Resolutions passed by Tokyo Yokohama Mission," 5 July 1886, reprinted in Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkô no kenkyû*, 515-20.

[81] Charlotte B. DeForest, "The Devolution of Mission Girls' Schools in Japan," *International Review of Missions* (1941): 421-33. Mission schools in China experienced a similar process of indigenization and nationalization in the 1920s. See Cui, "British Protestant Educational Activities," 137-60; Ryan Dunch, "Mission Schools and Modernity: The Anglo-Chinese College, Fuzhou," in *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, eds. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 2001), 109-36.

Parallel to the indigenization of Christian education in Japan was the change in leadership of Christian churches and some modifications in the Christian teachings in Japan. In 1891, Uchimura Kanzô broke away from the Methodist Episcopalian church to form the *Mukyôkai*, the "non-church" indigenous Christian movement in Japan. Also, in response to the request of the Japanese clergy in the Presbyterian Church of Japan to have their own creed, the preamble of the Apostle's Creed was modified and infused with "tones of Japanese expression."[84]

Like other Christian Japanese, Iwamoto's views on and initiatives for women's education were shaped by his desire to bridge the perceived incompatibility between his Christian and Japanese identities. Historian Hamish Ion considers the questions regarding the Japanese Christians' loyalty and their Japaneseness as their "Achilles' heel."[85] Iwamoto and other Japanese Christians tried to reconcile these incompatibilities, and this was reflected in the objectives of the Meiji Jogakkô when it was established in September 1885. The Meiji Jogakkô, Tsuda Umeko observed, was a "purely" Japanese school that promoted the Christian spirit. It was "started by native Christians on the principle of the missionary's schools, but supported by Japanese, having [as] its chief objective to teach English and to impart a good education with Christian morals, but [to] have it a Japanese school in the pure sense." [86] Tsuda's description of the Meiji Jogakkô reflected Iwamoto's view of appropriate schools for Japanese girls and women.

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[82] Kôzaki, *Reminiscences of Seventy Years*, 93-95, 102, 104.
[83] Elizabeth Poorbaugh to Kelker, 12 October 1891, reprinted in Mensendiek, *A Dream Incarnate*, 84-85, 87n34.
[84] Engelman, "A Japanese Missionary School for Girls," 81.
[85] Ion, "Introduction: *Essays* and Meiji Protestant Christian History," 39.

Although the ban on Christianity was lifted in 1873, the historian and critic Yamaji Aizan observed in the mid-1870s the "unfavorable intellectual current" against Christianity and the Christian churches in Japan.[87] Regarded as *jakyô* (evil creed) during most of the Tokugawa era, Christianity became even more suspect in the 1880s and 1890s.[88] It was viewed by many as an "alien creed" closely identified with western civilization and with "non-Japaneseness."[89] Christian teachings, such as the concept of a sovereign God as the center of worship, were deemed irreconcilable with Japanese values of loyalty to the emperor and filial piety. For example, Japanese philosopher and ethics scholar Inoue Tetsujirô (1855-1944), in his 1893 essay, "The Collision Between Education and Religion," contended that Christianity was opposed to loyalty and filial pi[illegible]y. It taught its followers to love God and Christ over and above anyone else.[90] A[illegible]ough the Christian teaching of love of God did not necessarily preclude love and res[illegible] to parents, and loyalty to the state, implicit in Inoue's comment was the supposed threat that Christianity posed to emperor-worship. Christianity was also believed to be opposed to ancestor worship and a hindrance to the growth of "national spirit and the independence of the country."[91]

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[86] Tsuda Umeko to Adeline Lanman, 13 September 1885, Tsuda-juku Daigaku Archives.

[87] According to Yamaji, direct theoretical opposition to Christianity came from the English empirical school represented by the Tokyo Imperial University, especially American Professor Edward Morse's (1838-1925) introduction of the theory of evolution and Katô Hiroyuki's attack on the theory of natural rights. In addition, Buddhists and Shintoists denounced Christianity. Yamaji Aizan, "The First Reaction Against Westernization – Fukuzawa Yukichi," trans. Graham Squires, *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christianity in Meiji Japan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, 1999), 103-06; Yamaji Aizan, "The University Movement and the Theory of Evolution and Agnosticism," trans. Graham Squires, *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christianity in Meiji Japan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, 1999), 125-29; Mizugaki, *One Hundred Years of Evangelism*, 55.

[88] Janet Hunter, *The Emergence of Modern Japan: An Introductory History since 1853* (London: Longman, 1989), 190; Ben-Ami Shillony, "Emperor and Religions in Twentieth Century Japan," in *Japan: State and People in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Janet Hunter, Discussion Paper No. JS/99/368 (March 1999): 5, http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/js/js368.pdf, accessed 24 August 2005.

[89] Hunter, *The Emergence of Modern Japan*, 191.

Consequently, "Westerners' Jesus schools" and the foreign missionaries were shunned as agents of "western Christian values." In the late 1880s, the atmosphere was so uncertain for foreign missionaries that, according to American Nannie B. Gaines who managed the Hiroshima Eiwa Jogakkô in 1887, their fellow missionaries warned them "not to plan for big things."[92] Attendance in Sunday schools declined after 1888 and mission school enrollment decreased from 9,698 in 1888 to 6,897 in 1891. Also, from 1890 to 1900 the number of churches and the membership of the Church of Christ in Japan (NKK), which was affiliated with the Presbyterian - Reformed churches, decreased.[93] In addition, many Christian girls' schools, such as the Hiroshima Eiwa Jogakkô in 1889, were forced to close down because they lacked students and teachers. In 1893, low school enrollment posed such a problem to the Henrich Memorial School in Chofu in Yamaguchi Prefecture that Shibayama Kô appealed to her fellow Christians to pray for more enrollees.[94] Notwithstanding the challenges faced by the Christian girls' schools, there were girls who found the Protestant values and ideals of dedication to labor, self-reliance, responsible work ethics, and sense of mission espoused by the Christian schools as attractive because of their compatibility with the samurai ethics.[95]

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[90] Yamaji, "The Conservative Reaction II," trans. Graham Squires, *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christianity in Meiji Japan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, 1999), 163.

[91] Engelman, "A Japanese Missionary School for Girls," 83.

[92] Hilburn, *Gaines Sensei*, 45-46.

[93] Kôzaki, *Reminiscences of Seventy Years*, 75; Miyake, "Evangelistic Work in Japan," *The Japan Evangelist* I, no. 2, December 1893, 114; Harada, "Kurisuto kyô to sono shûhen no josei kan," 64; Mensendiek, *A Dream Incarnate*, 70. Mizugaki, *One Hundred Years of Evangelism*, 57-59.

[94] Hilburn, *Gaines Sensei*, 46; Shibayama, "Henrich Memorial School," *The Japan Evangelist* I, no. 1, 53.

Furthermore, there was negative perception of the Japanese Christians. An incident in 1891, involving Christian leader Uchimura Kanzô, sparked a public outcry against them. Uchimura, a part-time teacher at the Tokyo First Higher Middle School, only inclined his head and he refused to bow before the Imperial Rescript of Education.[96] Tokyo Imperial University professor Inoue Tetsujirô denounced Uchimura and other Japanese Christians as "enemies of the state and of the Emperor." Many threw stones at the Christian churches and Christian teachers were dismissed from their jobs.[97] To the skeptics, the Uchimura incident served to reinforce the perceived incompatibility between Christian beliefs and loyalty to the state.[98]

Amidst these accusations, Japanese Christians, including Iwamoto, sought to prove their detractors wrong. They considered themselves patriotic and they tried to demonstrate it in various ways.[99] Their rejection of the western-based education provided by the foreign Christian missionaries and emphasis on skills appropriate to Japanese girls was one way to reaffirm their Japanese identity. Another was their rhetorical strategy linking Christianity with what was emphasized as Japanese values and tradition. Iwamoto, for example, tried to reconcile Christianity with the values of loyalty and filial piety. He identified morality – based on loyalty to the emperor and respect of parents – as the foundation of the Japanese society. Harada interprets this as a sign of Iwamoto's deviation from his Christian beliefs, signifying the collapse of the basis of his conception of women and their education.[100] As I have argued earlier, however, Iwamoto's promotion of women's education had dual foundations. It was not just based on his Christian beliefs, but also on his nationalistic sentiments. Aside from Iwamoto, other Japanese Christians, such as Uemura Masahisa presented Christianity as a vehicle for the perfection of *Bushido* (way of the warrior), which was the basis of the samurai ethics. Imai Judo (1863-1919), a leading Japanese Anglican clergyman, argued that *yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit) "could be perfected by Christianity." [101]

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[95] Murakami Nobuhiko, *Meiji joseishi* [History of Meiji Women], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1973), 374.

[96] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 12.

[97] Cho, "Uchimura Kanzô," 91-92; 109; Yamaji, "The Conservative Reaction II," 161-63.

[98] Hunter, *The Emergence of Modern Japan*, 191.

[99] Shillony, "Emperor and Religion in Twentieth Century Japan," 6. Chinese Protestants in Fuzhou were faced with similar criticisms as the Japanese Christians. As Ryan Dunch argues, however, the Chinese Protestants did not reject Chinese culture or their Chinese identity when they embraced Protestantism. Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), xvii, 13-14.

Japan's war against China (1894-1895) and Russia (1904-1905) presented the Japanese Christians with another opportunity to make clear where their loyalty lay. During the Sino-Japanese war, Iwamoto lauded the efforts of the members of the Imperial family who donated money to the national defense budget for the naval forces. He also called on the housewives to donate their household savings for the war effort.[102] Japanese Christians joined their non-Christian fellows to comfort the bereaved families, to disseminate information that justified the war, and to support Japan's expansionist moves, especially after the Russo-Japanese war.[103]

In the process of proving their loyalty, Japanese Christians found themselves in a difficult situation. As Uchimura Kanzô related, "I love two J's and no third: one is Jesus, and the other is Japan . . . . I am hated by my countrymen for Jesus' sake as '*yaso*,' and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan's sake as national and narrow. No matter; I may lose all my friends, but I cannot lose Jesus and Japan. . . ."[104] Clearly, both the Christian beliefs and loyalty to Japan were equally important to Uchimura and other Japanese Christians, including Iwamoto.

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[100] Harada, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no fujin kaihô shisô to sono henyô," 65-67.
[101] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 37-38.
[102] Harada, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu no fujin kaihô shisô to sono henyô," 65-69.
[103] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 12; "Introduction: *Essays* and Meiji Protestant Christian History," 41.

Iwamoto's Views on Women's Education

Iwamoto adopted a holistic approach to women's education that was embodied in his notion of *jogaku* (literally, female education). As he clarified in 1888, *jogaku* was not just limited to women's education (*joshi kyôiku*) or women's learning (*joshi no gakumon*). His views on the education of women were part of his conception of *jogaku*, which aimed "to elevate women, who suffered unfair oppression in a male-centered society, to their rightful status as human beings."[105]

Educating Women for their Rights and for the Nation

Iwamoto's Christian belief that all human beings are equal before God, in part, shaped his thinking on why it was necessary to educate women.[106] Given what he pointed out as the lack of gender equality in Japan, he maintained that women's education could elevate women's position to equal that of men.[107] The Christian concept of the equality of all human beings before God convinced him, as it did Christian educator Naruse Jinzô, of the need to rectify the image of women as inferior and to educate them, just like men.[108]

Iwamoto's support of women's education was also spurred by the vision of educated women as vital contributors to national development. Girls needed to be educated, he argued, because of their future responsibilities as mothers and wives.[109] His emphasis on women's domestic roles derived, in part, from the Christian ideal that it was the woman's calling to preside on the domestic front.[110] It was also informed by the popular rhetoric on educated women as contributors to the nation through their work at home. This was advanced by both non- and Christian reformers, including Iwamoto's former teacher, Nakamura Masanao. Iwamoto maintained that educated women could improve society and contribute to the rebirth of a new Japanese nation equal to the western powers by giving birth to and raising intelligent and healthy children, and helping their husbands.[111] He, therefore, shared the vision of a strong nation– a "new Japan," a vision held by the first generation of students who attended western-oriented schools of higher learning during the Meiji period.[112]

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[104] Cho, "Uchimura Kanzô," 91.

[105] Iwamoto, "Jogaku no kai," *Jogaku zasshi* 111, 26 May 1888, reprinted in Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 123, 158n1.

[106] Iwamoto, "Joshi to yasokyô" [Women and Jesus' Teachings], *Jogaku zasshi* 36, 9 September 1886.

[107] Ibid.; "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku," 1-3.

[108] Nakajima Kuni, "Naruse Jinzô," 71.

Unlike most reformers, Iwamoto went beyond the idea of familial and national welfare as the end goal of the *ryôsai kenbo* education. This kind of education, he declared, was a step toward the acquisition of women's rights like suffrage.[113] Although Yanagida Izumi maintains that Iwamoto's belief in the importance of women's education took precedence over women's political rights, [114] for Iwamoto the two were deeply intertwined. Neither was Iwamoto, as Noheiji suggests, totally against women having equal rights with men (*danjo dôken*).[115] He endorsed a gradual and low-key approach to women's rights, especially suffrage. He argued that instead of boldly asserting their right to vote, women should take gradual steps and influence their husbands and children by assuming their domestic responsibilities to the best of their abilities. For example, after a long and stressful day at work, if the husband returned to a loving and well-managed home, he would respect and love his wife and consider her an equal. He would also become more receptive to the campaign for women's rights. He further maintained that if the mother taught her children well at home, they would become more sensitive and denounce discriminatory acts against women. They would grow up wanting to seek more rights for women.[116] Thus, Iwamoto premised the acquisition of women's rights and the improvement of their conditions on their efficient management of their household and their bringing up of healthy children. Notwithstanding his intentions, his arguments served to strengthen the contention that home management and childcare should be the primary responsibilities of women.

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[109] Iwamoto, "Fujinron," 2-4.
[110] Harada, "Kuristo kyô to sono shûhen no josei kan," 64.
[111] Iwamoto, "Hahaoya no sekinin" [Mother's Responsibility], *Jogaku zasshi* 52, 19 February 1887, 1-2; "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku," 1-3.
[112] Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), 53.
[113] Iwamoto, "Joken shinchô ni hyôri no ni to ari" [Two Ways of Promoting Women's Rights], *Jogaku zasshi* 71, 13 August 1887.
[114] Yanagida Izumi, "Bungaku Zasshi," *Bungaku* 30 (January 1955), cited in Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 16, 238 n.30.
[115] Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 129.

Iwamoto's support for women's rights was in tension with his argument for separate spheres. The notion of separate worlds for men and women with distinct and separate functions (*danjo ishitsu ron*) was a belief shared by both Christian and non-Christian Japanese reformers. Iwamoto emphasized, for example, that "the expansion of women's rights is not to create man-like woman in women's world." [117] Yet, it can be argued that women's acquisition of their political rights constituted their entrance into what would normally be regarded as men's domain. Iwamoto tried to reconcile this tension by suggesting that women's rights were within the bounds of what he considered as appropriate sphere for women. He publicly declared, for example, that suffrage was right for women, but he did not endorse the idea of women vying for elected office. The public world of governance remained a man's domain. Instead, following Iwamoto's ideal role for women as helpers of men, he urged them to help their husbands win elections.[118]

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[116] Iwamoto, "Joken shinchô ni hyôri no ni to ari."
[117] Iwamoto, "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku," 1-3.

Iwamoto's positive stance on women's suffrage was notable considering that many Meiji reformers were silent on this issue. During a reception held in honor of Pandita Ramabai Saraswati, an Indian Christian suffragist who visited Japan in December 1888, she asked Iwamoto about his opinion on women's suffrage. "I am in favor of it," Iwamoto responded, "because it is right." She then congratulated him for his "progressive idea" and this story was printed on the front page of the *Jogaku zasshi*.[119]

Like Fukuzawa, Iwamoto argued that women should be granted the right to own property.[120] The Meiji Civil Code gave husbands control over whatever possession their wives had upon marriage. In addition, on March 9, 1889 the *Jogaku zasshi* denounced as unreasonable the law that denied women succession to the Imperial throne. After all, as the magazine pointed out, no less than ten empresses had appeared in the Imperial line, including the legendary Empress Jingû (201-269) who led an army to Korea in the third century A.D. Empress Jingû was symbolic of the Japanese woman's strength and courage – qualities celebrated by the *Jogaku zasshi*. An illustration of Empress Jingû in her war camp as she prepared to leave for Korea appeared in the maiden issue of the *Jogaku zasshi* in 1885.[121]

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[118] Iwamoto, "Fujinron" [On Women], *Jogaku zasshi* 55, 12 March 1887, 2-4.
[119] "Ramabai's Progress in Japan," *Jogaku zasshi* 156, 6 April 1889, 1.
[120] Brownstein, "Jogaku Zasshi," 321.
[121] Art historian Elizabeth Lillehoj traces the popularity of the illustrations of Empress Jingû during the early Meiji period to the campaign to occupy Korea. "Women in Japan," *Jogaku zasshi* 152, 9 March 1889; Elizabeth Lillehoj, *Woman in the Eyes of Man: Images of Women in Japanese Art from the Field Museum* (Chicago: DePaul University Publications, 1995), 72-73, cited in Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 238, n33.

Higher Education for Women

Unlike most Meiji reformers, Iwamoto endorsed the idea that women should pursue higher education – meaning a university degree – and study politics, law, and science, just like men. He argued against those who maintained that women were mentally incapable of higher pursuits. For example, in a meeting of Japan Women's Education Association, then Imperial University president Katô Hiroyuki denounced as "optimistic and impracticable any attempts to apply men's higher education to women." Iwamoto responded that the (female) sophomore students of the Meiji Jogakkô could easily match the "intellectual achievement" of (male) freshman students at the Imperial University.[122] Furthermore, Iwamoto rejected the notion that women were incapable of engaging in scientific study (*rigaku*) and using scientific method. Women and science, Iwamoto argued, were compatible.[123] Science was a practical course that could save girls from their romantic notions and senseless pursuits. He also maintained that women tended to pay attention to romantic plots, which do not necessarily depict reality.[124] Instead of engaging in these useless pursuits, Iwamoto suggested that girls should use the microscope and study the stars.

Women's higher education, Iwamoto believed, was an instrument for the expansion of women's rights and the elevation of women's position to equal that of men. Following his argument for separate spheres, he clarified that such an education should be geared mainly to develop feminine qualities. It was not intended to enable women to compete with men.[125] Yet, women's pursuit of higher education constituted their entrance into the intellectual world normally inhabited only by men. It could also potentially enable them to enter fields of work that were regarded as men's domain. In fact, Hani Motoko, one of Iwamoto's students at the Meiji Jogakkô, became a "trailblazer" as the first female journalist in Japan. She worked at the *Hôchi shimbun* in 1897.[126]

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[122] The Tokyo University, formerly Tokyo Imperial University, opened its door to women and admitted its first regular female student in 1913. During the Meiji period, few women were allowed to take special courses in the university. In 1887, a woman attended lectures in medicine and another one attended lectures in botany. Sandra Buckley with Sakai Minako, comp., "Chronology of Significant Events in the Recent History of Japanese Women (1868-1991), in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 309; Wakamatsu Shizuko, "The Condition of Woman in Japan," *Jogaku zasshi* 98 supplement (2 February 1888): 1-6; Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 217.

[123] Iwamoto, "Joshi to rigaku" [Women and Scientific Study], *Jogaku zasshi* 42, 25 November 1886, 21-23; no. 56, 19 March 1887, 101.

[124] Iwamoto, "Shôsetsuron" [On Prose Fiction], *Jogaku zasshi* 83, 5 November 1887, 1.

Education for the "Good Wife, Wise Mother"

Girls' training as "good wives, wise mothers" was central to Iwamoto's view of how and why women should be educated. He believed it was the true measure of success of efforts to educate women.[127] His idea of what constituted a "good wife and wise mother" was, in part, different from the ones advanced by Education Ministry officials. It combined the western- and Christian-influenced concept of the *hômu* (home) with the western notion of scientific motherhood and wifehood, and with Japanese etiquette. Iwamoto's approach was typical of Japanese Christian reformers like Uchimura Kanzô who sought to implant "the message of Christianity into the potentially receptive elements embodied in the traditional Japanese spiritual soil."[128] It was reflected in the goal of the *Jogaku zasshi*, which aimed to "educate women by providing them with a model of ideal womanhood in which both the Western concept of women's rights and Japan's own traditional female virtues are embodied."[129]

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[125] Iwamoto, "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku," 1-3.

[126] Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 208. Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 244n106.

[127] Iwamoto, "Tôkon joshi kyôikusha no kyôoku" [The Inmost Thoughts of Women Educators of Today], *Jogaku zasshi* 132, 20 October 1888, 1-2.

[128] Cho, "Uchimura Kanzô," 91.

[129] "Hakkô no shushi" [The Main Purpose of the Issue], *Jogaku Zasshi* 1, 20 July 1885, 3.

The hômu

A distinct feature of Iwamoto's prescriptions for a wife and a husband in the 1880s and 1890s was the concept of the *hômu* founded on mutual love between two people. His idea of the *hômu* presented in the *Jogaku zasshi*, like those espoused by other magazines during the early Meiji period, was characterized by a "longing for an egalitarian and affectionate style of family."[130] It was anchored in the western and Christian idea of love-based marriage.[131] Love was not a common prerequisite for an arranged marriage, a practice that continued during the Meiji era. In the *Jogaku zasshi*, as in many other general-interest magazines (*sôgô zasshi*) during this period, *hômu* was written in the *katakana* syllabary, which denotes its foreign/western origin, and sometimes it was also written alongside the Chinese characters of *katei*. For Iwamoto, mutual love between husband and wife also meant mutual responsibilities. The wife had the duty to manage her home, while the husband was exhorted to provide for his family and to care for his wife when she was sick.[132] This article, just like many articles on the home or housekeeping in other magazines at the time, was aimed not just for a female, but also for a male audience.[133]

Integral to Iwamoto's argument for the *hômu* was his idea of the wives being equal to their husbands. He assigned the wives the responsibility of taking charge of their homes, and such designation did not signal an inferior position for women. Women were separate, but equal to men. "If women work freely alongside men outside the home," he explained in 1887, "then the home will become little more than a hotel for the married couple, and husbands and wives will become competitors." He continued, "No, I feel women should keep the house and have jurisdiction over it."[134] In the *hômu*, Iwamoto firmly positioned the wife beside her husband. She was his helpmate with a responsibility that was as important as his.[135] She was a full partner, not a mere appendage to him. "The home is a nation and its management is politics. Wives are indeed prime ministers," Iwamoto further explained in 1896.[136] His high regard for the wife contrasted with the way women were portrayed in the 1898 Meiji Civil Code, which categorized the woman as an "incapacitated person," together with the "minors, incompetent and quasi-incompetent persons."[137] The Civil Code also upheld the importance of the *ie* (household) as the basic unit of society.[138] Promoting the concept of an egalitarian *hômu*, Iwamoto regarded the *ie* (household) as a "place of oppression and slavelike control" for women.[139] It placed authority in the hands of male figures like the father and the husband.

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[130] According to Muta Kazue, the term *katei* (home) was used in the *Katei sôdan* (Family Journal), launched in 1876. Aside from the *Katei sôdan*, Muta Kazue also examined the *Meiroku zasshi* (Meiji Six Journal), *Kinji hyôron* (Contemporary Criticism), *Rikugô zasshi* (Universal Journal), *Kokumin no tomo* (Nation's Friend), *Chûô kôron* (Central Critical Opinion), and *Taiyô* (The Sun). Muta Kazue, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals: The Paradox Underlying the Emergence of the "Home," trans. Marcella S. Gregory, *Nichi-Bei josei janaru* 7 (*U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*), English supplement (1994): 57, 67.

[131] A new understanding of marriage based on love and companionship emerged in the United States in nineteenth century. Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 62-63.

[132] "Saikun no shokumu" [The Duties of a Wife], *Jogaku Zasshi* 104, 16 June 1888, 13-14; "Saikun no byôki" [A Wife's Sickness] *Jogaku zasshi* 110, 19 May 1888, 10-11.

[133] Muta, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals," 62.

Iwamoto and his Christian wife, Wakamatsu Shizuko, whom he married in 1889, tried to live out the ideal of a strong wife capable of helping her husband face the challenges of everyday life. Wakamatsu's belief in marriage based on "pure union of individuals" linked by "friendship and spiritual devotion" was compatible with Iwamoto's ideals on marriage and husband-wife relations. He was oftentimes busy with the Meiji Jogakkô and the *Jogaku zasshi*. Despite Wakamatsu's failing health, she combined her wifely duties and her responsibilities taking care of four children with her writing. She wrote articles, poems, and essays in both Japanese and English, as well as translated English works into Japanese and vice versa.[140] The "Bridal Veil," an English-language poem she composed for Iwamoto a day after their wedding, declared her desire not to be "possessed [by her bridegroom] but respected." [141]

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[134] Iwamoto, "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô, dai ni" [Women and the Literary Profession, Part II], *Jogaku zasshi* 80, 15 October 1887, 182, cited in Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 26.

[135] Iwamoto, "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku," 1-3.

[136] Iwamoto, "Katei wa kokka nari," *Taiyô* 2, no. 5, 1896, 145, cited in Muta, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals," 64, 70n56. *Taiyô* was a literary journal founded in 1895 by a large commercial publisher, Hakubunkan. It occasionally published women's work. Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 45, 243n101.

[137] Ishii Ryosuke, *Japanese Legislation in the Meiji Era*, trans. William S. Chambliss (Tokyo: Pan-Pacific Press for the Centenary Culture Council, 1958), 606-07.

[138] On the importance of the *ie* in Tokugawa society, see Sugano Noriko, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety on Tokugawa Japan: Sons and Daughters in the Official Records of Filial Piety," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 170-89.

[139] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 398.

Iwamoto ascribed various duties and responsibilities to the wife and mother, which were, in part, Christian-influenced. They were also compatible with those promoted by non-Christians, including Education Ministry officials and non-state reformers. Like the lessons given in government schools, Iwamoto identified the provision of the best home environment as the primary responsibility of a woman. She had to sew, cook, wash clothes, clean the house, manage household finances, and take care of the children. All these tasks constituted Iwamoto's conception of *kasei* (domestic matters), which he deemed necessary for the education of every woman in Japan.[142] His view of the appropriate role for women also resonated with the Christian magazine *Rikugô zasshi*'s idea of the housewife's main responsibility, which was to "make the family pleasant and harmonious so as to create a place to educate a fine national citizenry."[143]

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[140] Eugene S. Booth, "Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto," in *In Memory of Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto*, ed. Iwamoto Yoshiharu (Yokohama: The Yokohama seishi bunsha, 1896), xxiii. Wakamatsu's health deteriorated after she coughed blood in 1887, and she was also weakened by four pregnancies. Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 120, 153, 155.

[141] For in-depth discussion of Wakamatsu's view on marriage and the beginnings of her relationship with Iwamoto, see Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 110-121.

[142] Iwamoto, "Shôrai nihonjinmin: nyoshi kyôiku," 1-3.

An important duty of the wife, Iwamoto declared, was to lift up her husband's spirit. Iwamoto, therefore, established the *hômu* as a sanctuary for the husbands. Men, according to him, were always confronted with many unpleasant things outside the home and it was the responsibility of the wife to bring peace and happiness to the home. A peaceful and happy home would also bring peace to her heart. Iwamoto further urged wives to comfort their husbands and ensure that they would be ready to go out the next day with refreshed mind and elevated spirit.[144] In 1905, nineteen years after Iwamoto's editorial was published, the Christian magazine *Rikugô zasshi* published an article with a strikingly similar message as Iwamoto's. "The wife must try to fulfill the responsibilities of the home," the *Rikugô zasshi* declared, "so that her husband can work hard and be successful."[145]

Iwamoto and the Christian magazine *Rikugô zasshi* promoted the notion of the home as a sanctuary for the husbands, but, as scholars have pointed out, such an idea is also commonly identified with industrialization. It was premised on the separation of work and home, of the public and private. In Japan, as in the United States and many countries in Europe, the home was presented as a safe haven for men against societal changes brought about not only by industrialization, but also by war.[146] In nineteenth-century industrializing northern France, the home was portrayed as a separate place that offered respite to husbands who were burdened by their heavy work in the "public world."[147] In Nazi Germany the home was presented as a separate place that offered respite to men from the brutalities of war.[148] Wives were then designated as the caretakers of this private space.

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[143] Kanai En, "Fujin to keizai," *Rikugô zasshi* 144, 1892, 578, cited in Muta, "Images of the Family," 63, 70n51.

[144] Iwamoto, "Joshi to yasokyô" [Women and Jesus' Teachings], *Jogaku zasshi* 36, 25 September 1886, reprinted in Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 128.

[145] "Katei ni okeru shufu no ninmu," *Rikugô zasshi* 293, 1905, 351, cited in Muta, "Images of the Family," 64, 70n57.

[146] On the United States, see Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), chapter V.

Related to Iwamoto's idea of the home as a refuge for the husbands was the notion of the wives as moral guardians of their homes.[149] Underlying this Christian feature of Iwamoto's prescribed duties for the wives was the assumption that women were morally superior to men. The notion of a virtuous wife was a main pillar of Iwamoto's ideal *hômu*. A virtuous wife could potentially protect the sanctity of a monogamous marriage, an important Christian precept. She could discourage her husband from installing a concubine in his home or from having a relationship with a *geisha*. Christian reformers, including Iwamoto, campaigned against the geisha and the practice of having concubines. From 1870 to 1882, a concubine enjoyed the same legal status as a wife, and both were considered to be the second-degree relative of the husband.[150] Aside from Iwamoto, non-Christian reformers like Fukuzawa also denounced concubinage as a symbol of Japan's "uncivilized" condition.

Some scholars maintain that in the 1890s Iwamoto's discourse on the *hômu* (*hômu ron*) was eclipsed by his discourse on the *shikka* (*shikkaron*).[151] Iwahori traces this change in the *Jogaku zasshi* beginning in the late 1880s. At the time the magazine's ideal of the family emphasized the "selfless dedication and sacrifice" symbolized by the word

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[147] Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoisies of Northern France in Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[148] Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 419.

[149] Iwamoto, "Fujinron," 2-4.

[150] Ishii, *Japanese Legislation in the Meiji Era*, 667.

[151] Inoue Teruko, "'Jogaku' shisô no keisei to tenkai: Jogaku zasshi sha no shisôshi-teki kenyû [Jogaku Zasshi: The Structure of Its Ideals and Their Evolution], *University Newspaper Research Center Bulletin* 17 (1968): 45-46, cited in Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 409.

shikka, instead of the early emphasis on "western-style love and cooperation." For Iwahori, this shift signaled the end of Iwamoto's conception of a strong wife because *shikka* literally meant "special room in a house" that signified the housewife in Confucian writings.[152] In Muta Kazue's study of several Meiji magazines, she similarly argues that there was a shift in the meaning of the "home" beginning in the late 1880s when the stress on the housewife's (*shufu*) place in the household eclipsed an earlier emphasis on "affectionate family." In the 1890s, Muta further maintains, the ideal of the "feudalistic, samurai-class wife was projected onto the housewife" as exemplified by the *ryôsai kenbo*.[153]

Yet, Iwamoto's discourse on the *shikka* did not signal a total shift in his thinking on women and their domestic position. His emphases on selfless dedication and sacrifice were in line with his conception of women as contributors to the family and the nation through their labor at home. Also, for him dedication and sacrifice did not necessarily signal a weakening position for women in the family. They did not imply a hierarchical relationship between the husband and wife. Furthermore, in the late 1880s Iwamoto did not totally abandon his argument for the *hômu*. A monogamous and affectionate relationship between the husband and wife – a basis of his argument for gender equality in the domestic sphere – remained as a theme of discussions on the ideal home in the *Jogaku zasshi* in the early 1890s. In an 1890 editorial, for example, Iwamoto reiterated his early emphasis on love as one of the wifely duties when he exhorted the wife to "very deeply and truthfully love her husband."[154]

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[152] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 399.
[153] Muta, "Images of the Family," 54, 63-67.
[154] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 400, 408 n15.

Scientific wifehood and motherhood

Scientific method was an important component of Iwamoto's notion of "good wife, wise mother." Like other household management science (*kaseigaku*) magazines in the 1880s, the *Jogaku zasshi* and the correspondence course *Tsûshin jogaku* stressed the adoption of scientific methods. Such an idea elevated women's position at home. Armed with scientific knowledge of housekeeping and bringing up children, Iwamoto's ideal woman was no longer just an ordinary wife and mother. She was someone who was efficient and proud of her work at home. The idea of women as efficient caretakers and managers of their homes was not merely imposed on women by reformers like Iwamoto. It also appealed to many *Jogaku zasshi* readers, especially the urban middle-class women, because it gave validation to their domestic duties. In fact, the "nuance of a superior administrative knowledge being needed in the home, reinforced by the promotion of the term 'household management' as a field of science" attracted many women to the *kaseigaku* magazines in the late 1880s.[155] Although directed mainly to improving household economy and to maximizing women's reproductive function, *kaseigaku* heightened women's perception of the value of their work at home.

Like the lessons in government schools, the *Jogaku zasshi* and *Tsûshin jogaku* urged mothers to adopt scientific methods so they could bring up healthy and intelligent children.[156] For example, *Tsûshin jogaku* lessons on women's physiology (*joshi seiri*) focused on the birthing process carried out by either a doctor or a nurse, and on post-natal care. Mothers were reminded not to let the umbilical cord wrap around the baby's neck and to ensure that nothing obstructed the baby's breathing. Right after delivery, the baby should be encouraged to cry by spanking the buttocks, by applying cold water (it did not say where), or by blowing air into the baby's mouth. After cutting the umbilical cord, oil should be rubbed on the baby, which would be followed by a warm bath.[157] Furthermore, regular sleeping time was underscored as crucial to the child's physical and mental growth. A writer in the *Tsûshin jogaku*, Funakoshi Kentarô, urged mothers to enforce regular sleeping time for their children. In his "Instructions on Childcare" (*ikuji kokoroe*), Funakoshi identified six o'clock as the ideal sleeping time for children in winter and seven o'clock in summertime. Difficulty to sleep could be remedied through exercise.[158] Other *Tsûshin jogaku* lessons stressed the importance of having clean water in the house, a sewage system, and plenty of sunshine for the prevention of beriberi, rheumatism, gastric problems, and fever.[159] Similarly, the *Jogaku zasshi* regularly featured columns and articles, sometimes written by medical doctors, which highlighted the importance of good hygiene and sanitation. They also underscored the role of mothers in the healthy upbringing of children.[160] Overall, the *Tsûshin jogaku*'s and *Jogaku zasshi*'s emphasis on hygiene and sanitation helped lay the groundwork for the dissemination of the "hygienic awareness and practices" by neighborhood associations, women's magazines, and schools in the early 1900s. This medical and hygienic discourse was part of the larger discourse on modernity, which reinforced the designation of women as overseers of family hygiene.[161]

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[155] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 406;Yamaji, "The *Kokumin no tomo* and *Jogaku Zasshi*," 138.

[156] See, for example, Iwamoto, "Hahaoya no sekinin," 2-4; "Shôrai nihonjinmin: joshi kyôiku," 1-3.

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[157] Funakoshi Kentaro, "Joshi seiri" [Physiology of Women], *Tsûshin Jogaku*, in *Jogaku zasshi* 143, 5 January 1889, 4-6.

[158] Funakoshi, "Ikuji kokoroe" [Instructions on Childcare] *Tsûshin Jogaku*, in *Jogaku zasshi* 143, 5 January 1889, 3-4.

[159] Funakoshi, "Joshi seiri," 4-6.

[160] See, for example, Nakamura Masanao, "Zenryô chiru haha wo tsukuru setsu" [Views on the Making of Good Mothers], *Jogaku zasshi* 105, 14 April 1888, 10-12; Doctor Katô, "*Kodomo no sodatekata*" [Method of Raising A Child], *Jogaku zasshi* 153, 16 March 1889, 280-82; no. 154, 23 March 1889, 302-03.

[161] Narita Ryûichi, "Mobilized from Within: Women and Hygiene in Modern Japan," trans. Julie Rousseau,

Although the *Tsûshin jogaku* sought to widen women's knowledge of the arts, Japanese literature, language, and history, its overall focus continued to be the home.[162] The "woman's reading book" (*Joshi tokuhon*), for example, stressed the importance of having a healthy diet, consisting of meat (*niku*), vegetables, and food rich in carbohydrates. The *Joshi tokuhon* mentioned meat in general, but the examples given were mostly beef and there were instructions on how to make beefsteak (*bifuteki*).[163] Government officials, doctors, and women's magazines also promoted beef as vital to the growth of healthy and intelligent children.[164] In addition, the reading book promoted economical (*keizaiteki*) ways of cooking nutritious food (e.g., making stew). These resonated well with the government's campaign for a frugal way of life and the adoption of thrifty habits, such as saving in banks and post offices.[165]

Iwamoto exhorted girls and women to manage their extensive household responsibilities efficiently.[166] The wives' responsibilities, as outlined in the *Tsûshin jogaku* in the late 1880s, included not only common everyday chores like cooking and cleaning. They also pertained to those that involved major decision-making, such as choosing a house or renting a room. The *Tsûshin jogaku* advised the wives to consider important elements, such as air, sunshine, temperature, sewage, and water, in order to have healthy living conditions. Lack of sunshine would cause beriberi, rheumatism,

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in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 261-68.

[162] See, for example, Suzuki Kôkyô, "Hyakunin isshu" [One hundred Poems of Ancient Japan], *Tsûshin jogaku*, in *Jogaku zasshi* 144, 12 January 1889, 1-2.

[163] "Joshi tokuhon" [Reader for Women], *Tsûshin jogaku*, in *Jogaku zasshi* 158, 20 April 1889, 27-30.

[164] On the popularization of beef, see M. William Steele, *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London: Routledge, 2003), 122-32.

[165] "Joshi tokuhon," *Jogaku zasshi* 158, 20 April 1889, 27-30. On government promotion of frugal way of life, see "Extravagance in the Provinces," *The Japan Times*, 30 May 1900, 3; "A Thrifty Community," *The Japan Times*, 25 December 1900, 2; "Encouraging Thrifty Habit," *The Japan Times*, 3 September 1901, 2.

[166] Iwamoto," Fujinron," 2-4.

gastric problems, and fever; high humidity was conducive to the growth of cancer. There were warnings about the unhealthy effect of sleeping in an overcrowded room; fresh air was needed at all times.[167]

Tsûshin jogaku lessons on economy reminded wives to maximize their time for household efficiency. Kitahama Ryôsi, a *Tsûshin jogaku* contributor, introduced the concept of division of labor in his lecture on economics. Following Adam Smith's discussion in *The Wealth of Nations*, Kitahama explained that it was efficient to have one person do a particular task. [168] Given that women attended to many things at home like sewing and cooking, they should adopt Adam Smith's formula. Kitahama suggests that the existing division of labor between women and men was rational and "modern" as proved by Adam Smith.[169]

The *Jogaku zasshi* and the *Tsûshin jogaku* were not only sources of the argument designating women as caretakers of the home. Home management was also a major theme in home management courses in government schools, as it was a major topic in many general-interest magazines in the 1890s. While men fought in the battlefield, women were exhorted to take care of the family and their homes. Both gender roles were given equal value. For example, the "Home" column of *Taiyô* (The Sun), established in 1894, valorized women's domestic roles by declaring that "managing the home is more difficult than managing a country. Cooking, manners, sewing, child rearing, health, and family functions are the important business of the household."[170]

The advice and instructions for home management and childcare contained in the

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[167] "Joshi tokuhon," in *Jogaku zasshi* 158, 20 April 1889, 27-30.

[168] Kitahama Ryôsi, "Keizai igaku" [Economics] *Tsûshin jogaku*, in *Jogaku zasshi* 144, 12 January 1889, 145.

[169] Many thanks to Prof. Ryan Dunch for sharing his views on this matter.

[170] Mishima Tsûryô, "Katei ni okeru dai ichigi," *Taiyô* 1, no.1, 1895, 146-49, cited in Muta, "Images of the Family," 64, 70n58.

Tsûshin jogaku and the *Jogaku zasshi* were mostly class-based ideals that appealed to the magazine's urban and middle- to upper-class readers.[171] They were incompatible with the lives of peasant women and those who could barely eke out a living in the urban areas. How could these women apply the lessons about hygiene and sanitation, and the instructions on the scientific ways of cooking and caring for children when they lived in dwellings that lacked windows, private toilets, water supplies, and cooking facilities?[172] The housing shortage in the 1890s caused many urban working-class families to live in such dwellings and they often bought leftover food, including rice.[173] Furthermore, the idea of a woman who preoccupied herself solely with home management and childcare was incompatible with the lives of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban and rural women from the lower class who set aside childrearing and housekeeping for farm and handicraft work. Wives from urban lower-class families also combined childcare and waged employment by doing piecework (*naishoku*) at home, such as assembling matchboxes and shaving toothpicks.[174]

Japanese etiquette and fine arts

Iwamoto's concept of appropriate education for girls, especially for future wives included knowledge of *bijutsu* (fine arts). For the Japanese Christian reformers, these were the lessons that foreign Christian missionaries had neglected to teach.[175] Such criticism may be also viewed as a veiled wish for upward mobility for their daughters through the mastery of refined arts. Iwamoto did not intend fine arts to develop women's artistic abilities or to become a source of living. He presented fine arts as necessary for the family's well being and to develop women's character. For example, in order to increase the family's fun, he encouraged women to learn how to play the flute, instead of learning how to decorate the home. He also stressed that playing musical instruments would strengthen women's character and soothe their troubled hearts.[176] Thus, it would bring comfort to the *hômu*. Iwamoto's promotion of fine arts for women coincided with women's increasing interest in this field. In 1887, Wakamatsu Shizuko reported that many women were turning their attention to fine arts based on both foreign and native styles. In addition, there were women who earned their living by painting on porcelain and silk.[177]

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[171] Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 47.

[172] By the 1930s, the family life of the poor and working-class families improved considerably. They occupied "larger living spaces, often with amenities, such as a tiny kitchen, electricity and private toilets, and they owned more household goods." Nakagawa Kiyoshi, *Nihon no toshi kasô* (Tokyo: Keisô Shobô, 1985), 343; Nishikawa Yûko, "Sumai no hensen to "katei" no seiritsu" [Housing Change and the Formation of Home]in *Nihon josei seikatsushi* 4 (Kindai) (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990): 15-28, cited in Kathleen Uno, "One day at a time: work and domestic activities of urban lower-class women in early twentieth-century Japan," *in Japanese Women Working*, ed. Janet Hunter (New York: Routledge, 1993), 52-53, 55, 66.

[173] This situation seemed to be highly similar with the one during the twelfth to the fifteenth century when many "urban commoners," who had little time to cook, bought prepared (e.g., *miso*) and semi-prepared food (e.g., *udon*) from peddlers. Wakita Haruko, "The Medieval Household and Gender Roles within the Imperial Family, Nobility, Merchants, and Commoners," 88-89; Uno, "One day at a time," 52, 66.

[174] Uno, "One day at a time," 40-42.

Early lessons in the *Jogaku zasshi* also paid attention to deportment and Japanese etiquette. For example, cooking columns in the magazine gave instructions on the proper way of serving and eating.[178] The *Jogaku zasshi*'s early emphasis on etiquette was eclipsed in the mid-1880s by the importance given to domestic science. In contrast to the early focus on Japanese etiquette when serving and eating, beginning in December 1885 cooking columns in the *Jogaku zasshi* stressed nutrition and hygiene as significant components of cooking. Women were now strongly advised to consider the following when cooking: first, obtain the best taste; second, soften the food; third, heat it properly;

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[175] Iwamoto, "Bijutsu" [Fine Art], *Jogaku zasshi* 130, 6 October 1888, 1

[176] Iwamoto, "Joshi to yasokyô" [Women and Jesus' teachings], *Jogaku zasshi* 36, 25 September 1886, reprinted in Noheiji, *Josei kaihô shisô no genryû*, 128.

[177] Wakamatsu, "The Condition of Woman in Japan," 5.

[178] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 401-02.

fourth, make it easy to digest; and fifth, kill the bad bacteria.[179] By 1899, the *Jogaku zasshi* gained the reputation of being a scientific magazine directed mainly at the improvement of home life."[180]

Education Beyond the Home

Iwamoto's Christian-influenced idea of women being engaged in charitable and social reform activities pushed his ideal wife and mother out of the home. He promoted a new womanhood that combined domesticity with participation in charitable and evangelistic causes. As he declared, women should be taught the values of charity, nursing, and mission, as well as the ways to support men.[181] He also encouraged women's writing. In addition, his ideal woman was an independent thinker who was informed about issues outside the four walls of the home.

Like many foreign Christian missionaries in Japan and in China, Iwamoto encouraged women's interest in charitable, evangelistic, and social reform activities.[182] He was an active participant in the lecture tours organized by the Tokyo Women's Reform Society, and he also urged women to get involved in the activities of the Reform Society and other civic organizations like the anti-prostitution league. The Meiji Jogakkô, in fact, served as a venue for Tokyo Women's Reform Society's meetings and conferences.[183] Iwamoto also kept women informed on anti-prostitution campaigns and the temperance and suffrage movements in Japan and in other countries.[184]

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[179] See, for example, "Shokumotsu no ryôri no kokoroebeki koto" [Useful Knowledge in Cooking, Part I], *Jogaku zasshi* 11, 20 December 1885, 209.

[180] Iwahori, "Jogaku Zasshi," 404.

[181] Iwamoto, "Shinen wo gasu" [Welcoming the New Year], *Jogaku zasshi* 143, 5 January 1889, 1-3.

[182] Hue-Ping Chin, "Refiguring Women: Discourse on Gender in China, 1880-1919" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1995), 34.

[183] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 27.

[184] See, for example "Fujin kinshukai" [Women's Temperance Union], *Jogaku zasshi* 102, 24 March 1888, 14-15; Ueki Emori, "Baiin kôkyo kinshiron" [On the Prohibition of Legalized Prostitution], *Jogaku zasshi*

Notwithstanding Iwamoto's earlier argument for separate spheres, women's duties inside the home and their involvement in charitable, religious, and civic causes were regarded as compatible activities. These activities were extensions of women's domestic roles as nurturers and caregivers. They broadened women's public responsibilities "presumably without diminishing their proper role in the private sphere as wife and mother."[185] They were also in line with the Christian ideal of service to others and Iwamoto's designated role for women to be helpers of men. For example, his role models for women were the Virgin Mary and Florence Nightingale. Mary supported Jesus, and Florence Nightingale did great work in the battlefield by treating sick soldiers.[186] Furthermore, charitable activities constituted what may be regarded as "respectable work" for women. As Hastings explains, charitable and philanthropic work, including care for the poor, sick and the helpless, were the kinds of work considered as "appropriate services for respectable [Japanese] women to perform outside their homes."[187] These activities were important, especially when Japan was at war with China and Russia. Newspaper accounts of the Empress and other female members of the Imperial family who organized fund-raising activities, visited the sick and the wounded, and consoled the bereaved families of soldiers provided legitimacy to women's public activities.[188]

Iwamoto helped promote a new womanhood that combined domesticity with knowledge of the world outside the home and outside the country. For example, he

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111, 26 May 1888, 9; "Bankoku fujin kinshukai" [Temperance Society of Women from All Nations], *Jogaku zasshi* 152, 9 March 1889, 24-25; "Beikoku joshi senkyoken kakuchôkai no undô" [Movement for the Granting of American Women's Suffrage], *Jogaku zasshi* 154, 23 March 1889, 22-23.

[185] Eder, *Constructing Opportunity*, 210-11.

[186] Iwamoto, "Fujinron," 2-4.

[187] Sally Hastings, "From Heroine to Patriotic Volunteer: Women and Social Work in Japan, 1900-1945," *Working Paper* 106 (November 1985): 2.

[188] *The Japan Times*, 28 January, 5 and 9 February, 1, 2, and 16 March, 24 May, 12 June, 3, 7, and 30 July, 20 and 31 August, 17 September, 4, 8, 13, and 15 October, 16 November, 2, 20, and 22 December 1904; 26 May 1905.

promoted women's interest in literature. At the Meiji Jogakkô instructors such as Hoshino Amachi, writer and editor of *Bungakukai* magazine, lectured on the *Book of Poetry* and *The Anthology of Tang Poems.*[189] Iwamoto encouraged women's writing based on the assumption that it was compatible with their familial duties. He maintained that women could pick up their writing brush whenever they were free from their chores in the bedroom and in the kitchen.[190] Thus, writing should not take precedence over women's domestic duties. Nonetheless, Iwamoto declared writing as imperative for women and he urged them to rectify the lack of morally appropriate literature for women readers.[191] He also deplored the lack of female journalists in Japan. They needed to write about women's issues.[192]

The *Jogaku zasshi* reinforced Iwamoto's message that writing was good for women by honoring women novelists and poets, such as Louisa May Alcott, Jane Austin, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and George Eliot.[193] The magazine also included Japanese female literary figures like Murasaki Shikibu (973 – 1025?), author of *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji), which was considered to be one of the world's earliest and finest novels, and Sei Shonagon (965 –1010?), who wrote another Japanese literary piece, *Makura no soshi* (The Pillow Book).[194] In 1890, in an unprecedented move to promote women's writing, Iwamoto appointed eight women as members of his staff in the *Jogaku zasshi*, although he remained in charge of the editorials.[195]

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[189] Hani, "Stories of My Life," 251.

[190] Iwamoto, "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô, dai ichi" [Women and the Literary Profession, Part I], *Jogaku zasshi* 79, 8 October 1887, 162.

[191] Iwamoto, "Nyoshi to shôsetsu, dai san" [Woman and Prose Fiction, Part Three], *Jogaku zasshi* 32, 15 August 1886, 22-24.

[192] Iwamoto, "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô, dai ni," 182.

[193] "Birthplaces of Noted Women," *Jogaku zasshi* 156, 6 April 1889, 1.

[194] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 33.

[195] Writers Wakamatsu Shizuko and Miyake Kaho were assigned in the literary section, Doctor Ogino Gin

Iwamoto sought to provide women with knowledge of current events, which had the potential to widen their interest outside the home. Hani Motoko, a student at the Meiji Jogakkô in 1891, recalled how the students gathered in the auditorium every day after lunch to listen to Iwamoto's discussions on current events, literature, religion, and other topics. These talks were, according to Hani, extremely informative and inspiring. Students were "enlivened by his [Iwamoto's] eloquence, insight, dignity, sincerity, vision, and enthusiasm for learning."[196] Iwamoto's lectures made a great impression on his young students. "We all eagerly awaited his lecture," recalled another student Sôma Kokkô, "and when he left the hall after his class, our eyes glittered with excitement. We left thrilled to be alive. We were in complete awe of his genius."[197] Prominent religious, political, and literary figures, such as House of Peers member and Tokyo Imperial University's first president Katô Hiroyuki, and Japanese Christian leader Uemura Masahisa, also conducted lectures at the Meiji Jogakkô.[198] In addition, through the *Jogaku zasshi* Iwamoto disseminated information about women's rights movements and social reform activities. The magazine kept its readers informed with the women's rights movements in other countries and with the lives of their leaders. For example, included among its list of notable foreign women was Anna E. Dickinson (1842-1932), an American advocate of women's rights and a social reformer.[199]

Iwamoto's ideal woman, as suggested by his pedagogical style at the Meiji

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for health, and Nakajima Shôen for the current affairs and political column. Yoshida Nobuko took charge of the science column, Kojima Kiyoko of the household affairs, and Andô Tane transcribed speeches and sermons. Shimizu Shikin managed the entire operation. Wakamatsu Shizuko and Shimizu Shikin also taught at the Meiji Jogakkô. Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 244, n106.

[196] Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 249-251. Also see, Winston B. Kahn, "Hani Motoko and the Education of Japanese Women," *Historian* 59, no. 2 (Winter 1997): 391- 403.

[197] Sôma, *Mokui*, 53-54, cited in Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 14, 237n26.

[198] Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 249-51.

[199] "Birthplaces of Noted Women," *Jogaku zasshi* 156, 6 April 1889.

Jogakkô, was someone who could think for herself and expressed her own ideas. This was a bold approach to women's education at a time when "conservative elements in the government" were accusing him and his school of "corrupting the virtues of Japanese women by inundating them with selfish ideas about love, marriage, and individual freedom."[200] Students debated various issues and concepts, and classes were carried out in an atmosphere that encouraged lively exchange between students and teachers.[201] For example, when told to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of loyalty (*chûgi*), the eighteen-year-old Miyake Kaho, who entered the Meiji Jogakkô in1886, "thought about it for a few minutes and then responded: 'Loyalty is just loyalty – and no matter how you view it, it is a complicated matter (*mendô*)'."[202] Although unprepared and perhaps intimidated by Iwamoto's new teaching style, Miyake probably felt exhilarated to have a chance to present her own ideas.[203] This kind of teaching and the overall atmosphere at the Meiji Jogakkô impressed many of the students, including Hani. She considered the school "open and socially active" and "quite different" from public girls' schools she had attended.[204] This atmosphere was also a far cry from the atmosphere in many homes where parents had unquestioned authority over their daughters.

Conclusion

Iwamoto's promotion of women's education was located at the nexus of Christian and Japanese nationalistic initiatives for women's education during the mid-Meiji period. He navigated the tensions embodied by his Japanese and Christian identities by emphasizing, for the most part, common beliefs, such as the importance of domesticity and the notion of separate spheres. The idea of educated women serving as moral guardians of their homes and efficient managers and responsible mothers represented a harmonious synthesis of Iwamoto's beliefs as a Christian and his nationalistic sentiments as Japanese. By assuming these roles, women could potentially address the concerns common to both Christian and non-Christian Japanese reformers. Virtuous and educated wives could serve as a deterrent to concubinage, and they could potentially help realize the Christian ideal of a monogamous marriage. They could also help improve Japan's image in the western eyes, a major concern of non-Christian reformers like Fukuzawa. In addition, Iwamoto's argument linking women's education to the welfare of the family and the nation resonated with the education bureaucrats' exhortations for women to contribute to the nation by managing their homes and raising healthy children.

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[200] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 49.
[201] Iwamoto, "Joseito no tsuma," 1-3.
[202] Miyake Kaho, "Watashi no ayunde kita michi – omoide no hitobito," *Fujin kôron* (April 1939): 113, cited in Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 59, 245 n.2.
[203] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 59.
[204] Hani, "Stories of My Life," 247, 252.

Iwamoto elevated his arguments for women's education by promoting the idea of women as separate, but equal to men. The private sphere (home) assumed political importance as he presented his ideal of a wife and a mother with moral and civic responsibilities. These roles had grave political implications for women given the Japanese efforts to improve Japan's image abroad and the country's need for strong and healthy workers and soldiers. Iwamoto's notion of separate spheres, however, was tenuous. The lines between the public and private spheres blurred as he urged women to participate in charitable and social reform activities and to cultivate interest in fields beyond domestic science, such as writing and current events. His use of Florence Nightingale as a model for women suggests his implicit sanction for nursing as a female profession. In addition, the realities of the lives of lower-class women in both rural and urban areas made Iwamoto's argument for the separation of home and work untenable.

Iwamoto forwarded a feminist vision of women's education by regarding it as a vehicle for the improvement of women's conditions and the future acquisition of their rights, including suffrage. Implicit in his support for women's pursuit of higher education was his rejection of the notion that women were intellectually inferior to men.

Many women, including the readers of the *Jogaku zasshi* and students of Meiji Jogakkô, were profoundly influenced by Iwamoto. Hani Motoko, who studied at the Meiji Jogakkô and worked part-time at the *Jogaku zasshi*, pushed Iwamoto's argument that writing was good for women by becoming the first woman journalist in Japan. She launched her own magazine, *Fujin no tomo* (Woman's Friend), in 1908. Hani was among the first women to take charge of a magazine, and Iwamoto was one of the men who played a crucial role in her career.[205] Together with her husband Yoshikazu (1880-1955), Hani also founded a private school for women, the *Jiyû Gakuen*, in 1921. It aimed to cultivate "individuals with self-awareness, a sense of mission, and spirit of independence" [206] – goals that resonated with Iwamoto's education philosophy. Furthermore, Hani was regarded as a role model for girls and women who were determined to pursue education through their own initiative. Oku Mumeo (1895-1997), a leader of the women's suffrage movement in Japan and a member of the Upper House of the Diet for three terms (1948 -1965), recalled how her father encouraged her to emulate women like Hani who "made it in the world by their own efforts." Inspired by Hani, Oku also aspired to enter the Meiji Jogakkô, but her father made her enroll at the Nihon Joshi

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[205] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 244n106; Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 216-17.
[206] Mulhern, "Hani Motoko," 208.

Daigaku.[207]

Finally, Iwamoto inspired women education reformers like Tsuda Umeko, who is the subject of the next chapter. She taught at the Meiji Jogakkô around 1894 to 1895.[208] As she wrote to Iwamoto, "how deeply I appreciate all your efforts for women. . . ." She continued, "you will find us earnest and anxious to do our little part for the cause . . ., the elevation and education of Japanese women."[209]

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[207] Oku Mumeo, *Nobi aka aka to: Oku Mumeo jiden* [The Red Glow of Burning Grassfires: The Autobiography of Oku Mumeo] (Tokyo: Domes shuppan, 1988), 12-14, cited in Ronald P. Loftus, "Women's Autobiographical Writing in 20th Century Japan: Oku Mumeo's *Nobi aka aka to*," paper prepared for presentation at the annual conference of the Association of Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), Monterey, California,26-29 June 1997.

[208] A photo of Meiji Jogakkô students and staff dated 1895 included Tsuda and Iwamoto. Tsuda-juku Daigaku, ed., *Tsuda Umeko to juku no 90 Nen* [Ume Tsuda and Tsuda College: 1900-1990] (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 1990), 23.

[209] Tsuda Umeko to Iwamoto Yoshiharu, 3 March 1890, Tsuda-juku Daigaku Archives.

CHAPTER FIVE

"I am a woman and one of Japan's Daughters": Tsuda Umeko's Promotion of Women's Education[1]

"I have experienced some things even you never have, and there is no one of my age that I know of in America situated like me . . . and now I am a woman and one of Japan's daughters." That was how Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929) described her situation to Adeline Lanman (1826-1917), her American host mother, in June 9, 1883. She was writing to Adeline six months after she returned to Japan. This was after her eleven years of study in the United States. In explaining her situation to Adeline, she talked mainly about the difficulties and challenges brought out by her identity and background.[2] Yet, Tsuda's identity was enmeshed in her promotion of women's education, which brought her great joy and contentment.

This chapter examines Tsuda Umeko's arguments and initiatives for women's education in order to assess a Meiji government scholar and Christian Japanese woman's role in shaping modern Japanese womanhood. Tsuda, like other Meiji women educators, articulated her views on appropriate gender attributes and functions, and worked to elevate women's conditions through their education.[3] Tsuda's story is compelling because of her complex background. She was one of the few female Meiji government scholars educated and brought up in the United States. She was a "cultural hybrid" with close ties to the Meiji government.[4] Like Fukuzawa and Iwamoto, Tsuda hailed from a samurai family. Like Iwamoto, she was also a Christian. Tsuda's story, therefore, offers insights into the intimate connection between her complex identity and her promotion of the education of women. Historians of Japanese women, women's education, and modern Japan also find great potential in Tsuda's story. Her achievements as a pioneer of private higher education for women place her life "in the crossfire of debates about public and private, state and individual, and gender and work."[5]

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[1] A version of this chapter has been accepted for publication. Febe Pamonag, "'My Heart Goes Out to Japanese Women': Tsuda Umeko's Advocacy for Japanese Women's Education in Meiji Japan," *Canadian Review of East Asian Studies*, vol. I, eds. Anne Commons and Brad Ambury (Department of East Asian Studies, University of Alberta, forthcoming), 10 ms. pp. Another version of this chapter has been published. Febe Pamonag, "'I am a Japanese Woman with an Education': The Significance of Ume Tsuda's Correspondence with Adeline Lanman," *Across Time & Genre: Reading and Writing Japanese Women's Texts*, eds. Janice Brown and Sonja Arntzen (Department of East Asian Studies, University of Alberta, 2002), 149-53.

[2] Tsuda Umeko to Adeline Lanman [hereafter TU to AL], 9 June 1883, Tsuda-juku Daigaku Archives [hereafter TJDA](Tsuda College Archives), Tokyo, Japan. Unless otherwise stated, all of Tsuda's correspondence, writings, and excerpts of her speeches, as well as the correspondence of Adeline and Charles Lanman, Tsuda's parents, Tsuda's American and Japanese friends, students, and scholars were drawn from this archive.

My approach positions Tsuda's identity and background at the center of analysis in order to reveal new understandings of her promotion of women's education. Building on other scholars' approaches to the study of Tsuda, this chapter utilizes important developments in her life and in her education projects for women.[6] It also focuses on the formation and changes in her ideas on and practices for women's education. Previous works on Tsuda have been mainly biographical or institutional and gave rise to two contending images of her and her campaign for the education of women. Some scholars consider her a "social conservative" who created a place for educated women within the existing order and who cooperated with the state authority.[7] Others see her as a "progressive woman" who defied conventions by educating women so they could attain gender equality.[8] Tsuda's campaign for women's education has been presented either as one of personal ambition aimed to advance her own career and establish her position in Japan,[9] or as one of self-sacrifice and utmost dedication to her cause.[10] Diverging from the approaches adopted by previous works on Tsuda, recent works by a multi-disciplinary group of Japanese scholars explore Tsuda's collaborative relationships with women and men in the United States and in Japan.[11] In this chapter, I also indicate that Tsuda's American education and her conversion to Christianity provided her with valuable linkages with individuals and groups in the United States and Japan who played a vital role in realizing her visions for women's education.

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[3] On other Meiji women like Tanahashi Ayako (1839-1939), Miwata Masako (1843-1927), and Yamawaki Fusako (1867-1935) who helped shape the Meiji education system, see Sally A. Hastings, "Women Educators of the Modern Era and the Making of Modern Japan," *International Journal of Social Education* 6, no.1 (1991): 83-94.

[4] Related to this was Naomi Matsuoka's description of Tsuda as a "cultural intermediary" between Japan and the United States. Naomi Matsuoka, "Tsuda Umeko as University Founder and Cultural Intermediary," in *Crosscurrents in the Literatures of Asia and the West: Essays in Honor of A. Owen Aldridge*, eds. Masayuki Akiyama and Miu-nam Leung (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 209-24.

[5] Sally Ann Hastings, "American Culture and Higher Education for Japanese Women," *Feminist Studies* 3 (Fall 1993): 618.

[6] See Barbara Rose, "*Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); Furuki Yoshiko, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda, Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women* (Tokyo/New York: Weatherhill, 1991); Martha Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1995).

Tsuda's ideas and actions emerged out of her efforts to navigate the constraints and make full use of the opportunities brought about by her gender, samurai family background, Christian beliefs, American upbringing, and government-sponsored education in the United States. Notwithstanding the limits of her views, she promoted a feminist view of and undertook feminist initiatives for women's education. Her ideal woman thought and acted for herself and was someone with social responsibility. Her role was not just limited to the home. Unlike other Meiji reformers, Tsuda considered women's education not just an instrument to improve the family and the nation, but also women's lives.

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[7] Rose, "*Tsuda Umeko*," 7; Tocco, "School Bound."

[8] Yamazaki Takako, "Tsuda Ume," in *Ten Great Educators of Modern Japan*, comp. and ed. Benjamen C. Duke (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989), 125-48.

[9] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*.

[10] Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 125-48; Furuki, *The White Plum*; Iseda Yôko, "Tsuda Umeko to sono jidai: joshi kôtô kyôiku hatten to no kakawari o chûshin toshite" [Tsuda Umeko and that Era: Emphasis for the Development and Connection of Women's Higher Education], in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito* [The People Who Supported Tsuda Umeko], eds. Iino Masako, Kameda Kinuko, and Takahashi Yûko (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2000), 2-25.

[11] See Iino, et.al., eds., *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito*. Many thanks to Prof. Iino for giving me a copy of this book. Also see Takahashi Yûko, "Umeko Tsuda and Inazô Nitobe: Internationalization and Their Impact on Education," paper presented at the Japan Studies Association of Canada Conference, Victoria, British Columbia, 16 October 2004.

My work demonstrates Tsuda's feminism as she cast a critical look at the conditions of women in Japan and undertook efforts to help improve their lives. Many of the works on the history of Japanese women, of women's education, and of feminist movements and consciousness in Japan have either ignored or been vague on Tsuda's feminist contributions. They have recognized Tsuda as a pioneer of women's higher education, but as historian Sally Ann Hastings rightly notes, none had classified her as a feminist.[12] A typical treatment of Tsuda in Japanese-language scholarship on Japanese women's education was Katayama Seiichi's 300-page book on women's education in modern Japan. It briefly mentioned Tsuda and only in relation to Mori Arinori's and Kuroda Kiyotaka's recommendation to send her and the other four girls to study in the United States.[13] The history of Meiji and Japanese women and of feminist movements and consciousness in Japan has been, for the most part, written in terms of resistance to state power and ideology.[14] Thus, women who opposed the state, otherwise known as "rebel women," tend to be considered as feminists.[15] Most likely because of Tsuda's background as a government scholar and her argument that invoked the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryôsai kenbo*) ideal, she had been left out of the history of the movement for women's rights in Japan.[16] The same is true of other women educators like Hatoyama Haruko (1861-1938) and Tanahashi Ayako (1839-1939), who were regarded as advocates of the *ryôsai kenbo* education and who "worked in cooperation with the state."[17]

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[12] Hastings, "American Culture," 618.

[13] Katayama Seiichi, *Kindai nihon no josei kyôiku* [Women's Education in Modern Japan] (Tokyo: Kenpukusha, 1984).

[14] This was also noted by Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 115-16. Meanwhile, recent works on women's history in Japan have shifted their emphasis to the study of gender. See the two-volume *Jenda no nihonshi* [Gender in Japanese History], eds. Wakita Haruko and S.B. Hanley (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1994-1995, and the two-volume English-language translation *Gender and Japanese History*, eds. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, and Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999).

[15] See, for example, Hane Mikiso, *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

Many of the early and recent works by Japanese and non-Japanese scholars that trace the development of feminist movements and consciousness in Japan were skewed toward suffrage or the pursuit of political rights, which Tsuda ignored. Such works tend to focus on women like Kishida Toshiko who supported the popular rights movement, and on Hiratsuka Raichô and Ichikawa Fusae who advocated women's suffrage. [18] Yet, feminism should not be limited only to the movement for equal rights and legal reforms, and those aimed to oppose state mechanisms and ideology. As Kumari Jayawardena has asserted, feminism encompasses an "awareness of women's oppression and exploitation within the family, at work and in society, and conscious action by women [and men] to change this situation."[19]

Among the works on Tsuda, Barbara Rose's biography considers her a feminist, but it downplays her "brand of feminism" because of its emphasis on influence rather than on action.[20] This criticism is not unique to Tsuda, however. Japanese women in the present have been also criticized for their lack of action, lagging behind their American sisters.[21] Underlying this critique is the failure to recognize the different ways and pace that Japanese women have transformed their lives.[22] As feminists have asserted time and again, this is a crucial point that needs to be considered when we look at issues of feminisms and women's movements, or when we examine cross-culturally the changes in women's lives. As Japanese feminist Ueno Chizuko argues, "it is possible for Asian women to develop a feminism that is the product of their own culture and meaningful to them."[23]

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[16] An exception is Barbara Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights," in *Gendering Modern Japanese*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 475-76.

[17] Katayama, *Kindai nihon no josei kyôiku*; Hastings, "Women Educators of the Meiji Era," 83. On the neglect of the story of Hatoyama Haruko, see Sally A. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 97.

[18] See Fujieda Mioko, "Japan's First Phase of Feminism," in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 323-341; Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983). Similarly, Japanese school curricula's scanty reference to women only includes feminists like Yosano Akiko and Hiratsuka Raichô. Fujieda, "Japan's First Phase of Feminism," 324. Feminists in present-day Japan, such as Inoue Teruko and Ueno Chizuko, had diverged from this emphasis and examined topics like the mass media, labor and sexual discrimination, and sexuality. See Inoue Teruko, Ueno Chizuko, et.al., in their eight-series *Nihon no feminizumu* [Feminism in Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995).

[19] Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 2.

[20] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 158. Among the few scholars who considered Tsuda a feminist are Tsuda alumni and professors Iino Masako, Furuki Yoshiko, and Takahashi Yûko. See Furuki, *The White Plum*, 138; Takahashi Yûko, "Umeko Tsuda and

This chapter utilizes Tsuda's voluminous correspondence, writings, diary, and excerpts of her speeches. Of particular importance is the correspondence between Tsuda and her American host mother Adeline Lanman from 1882 until 1911.[24] It also draws on the letters of American and Japanese supporters of Tsuda's education projects, including those of Yamakawa Sutematsu, Anna Hartshorne, and Alice Bacon, Tsuda's parents, and recipients of the American scholarship. In addition, it examines letters and autobiography

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Educational Reform in Modern Japan: From Bicultural Child to International Feminist" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1989), 250; Takahashi Yûko, Interview in "Yume wa tòki o koete: Tsuda Umeko ga tsumuida kizuna" [A Dream Across Time and Place: The Legacy of Tsuda Umeko], film produced by Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2003. Many thanks to Prof. Janice Brown for lending me this film.

[21] Iwao Sumiko, *The Japanese Woman: Tradition and Image and Changing Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 2, 11.

[22] Vital to this approach is the recognition of the different contexts in which the struggle of women from different cultures and societies must be understood. Cheryl Johnson-Odim, "Common Themes, Different Contexts: Third World Women and Feminism," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 314-26.

[23] Ueno Chizuko, "Interview" [Excerpts of Sandra Buckley's interview with Ueno Chizuko], in *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, ed. Sandra Buckley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 278. Similarly, scholars from India have challenged the view that changes in the legal position of Indian women and their growing opportunities for education in the nineteenth and early twentieth were due mainly to British influence, including contact with British feminism. Ida Blom, "Global Women's History: Organizing Principles and Cross-Cultural Understandings," in *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*, eds. Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson, and Jane Rendall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 143.

[24] Their letters, part of the "attic letters," were found in the attic of Tsuda College in 1984. See Furuki Yoshiko, Ueda Akiko Ueda, Mary E. Althaus, eds., *The Attic Letters: Ume Tsuda's Correspondence to Her American Mother* (New York/Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1991).

of Joshi Eigaku Juku graduates (later renamed Tsuda Juku Daigaku or Tsuda College), Tsuda College histories and school textbooks, and newspaper articles.[25]

The first section of this chapter explores the factors that shaped Tsuda's perspective on women's education. Section two examines her views on which women should be educated and why. It also explores her methods to educate women by examining the scholarship and the school she established for women. The chapter concludes with some explanations on why Tsuda's strategies for the promotion of women's education were effective. It also discusses the impact of Tsuda's projects for women's education.

The Making of "A Japanese Woman with an Education"

Exploring the factors that helped shape Tsuda's views on women and their education illuminates the nature and extent of Tsuda's promotion of women's education. Tsuda's parents, her education in the United States, and her Christian and middle-class upbringing in the Lanman household influenced her perspective on women. Furthermore, it is important to recognize the importance of Tsuda's sense of duty and her observations in Japan, which inspired her to work for the improvement of women's conditions. Failure to do this denies Tsuda's agency and her own efforts to shape the direction and contours of her life. In this section, I use Tsuda Umeko's given name, Ume, in order to differentiate between her and her parents. Ume was the first name given by her mother.

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[25] Ume's extant letters, other writings, and the drafts of her speeches are currently held at Tsuda College Archives. Many of them were included in Tsuda-juku Daigaku, ed., *Tsuda Umeko Monjo* [The Writings of Tsuda Umeko][hereafter referred to as *TUM*] (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 1984). Yamakawa Sutematsu's letters are reprinted in her biography written by her granddaughter, Kuno Akiko. Kuno Akiko, *Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate*, trans. Kirsten McIvor (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993).

Ume later added "ko" to her name when she established an independent household in 1902.

Tsuda Sen and Tsuda Hatsuko

Tsuda Sen's (1837-1908) bold decision to send Ume to study in the United States in 1871 was a turning point in her life.[26] Although some Japanese men had studied abroad in such countries as Netherlands, Russia, England, France, and United States between 1862 and the end of the Tokugawa period in 1868, it was unheard of for women, let alone young girls, to study in a foreign land like the United States.[27] Kuroda Kiyotaka's office, the Hokkaido Colonization Board (*Kaitakushi*), had to advertise twice for applicants to the Meiji government's project of free education in the United States for Japanese girls.[28] Finally, five samurai guardians – four fathers and an older brother – applied on behalf of their daughters and sister for ten years of free education, including free travel and living expenses, and annual pocket money of eight hundred dollars.[29] When the fifteen-year-old Yoshimasu Ryô and Ueda Tei, the eleven-year-old Yamakawa Sutematsu, the nine-year-old Nagai Shige, and the six-year- old Tsuda Ume left Japan in December 1871, some

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[26] On the family background of Tsuda Sen, see Yamazaki Takako, *Tsuda Umeko* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobun kan, 1962), 1-13.

[27] In 1871, five out of the fifty-eight students the Meiji government sent to the U.S. and Europe were girls. In 1862, fifteen male students, including Nishi Amane and Tsuda Mamichi, went to the Netherlands on the first Tokugawa government-approved foreign study program. In 1865 six students were sent to Russia. In 1866 twelve students went to England under the supervision of Nakamura Masanao and Kawaji Taro. Another group left Japan for France in 1867. Domains like Choshu sent Ito Hirobumi and Yamao Yozo to England, and Satsuma sent Mori Arinori and others to England and the United States during the final years of the Tokugawa shogunate. Monbushô, "The Introduction of Western Civilization and the Dispatch of Students Abroad," http://wwwwp.mext.go.jp/hakusyo/book/hpbz198103/hpbz198103_2_016.html, accessed 19 October 2005.

[28] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 10. Given the sudden recruitment and the immediate schedule of departure for the girls, there was only one applicant during the first recruitment. Iseda, "Tsuda Umeko," in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito*, 6.

[29] The eight hundred dollars (a dollar was equivalent to approximately one yen) pocket money was generous in the Japanese standard given that at the time five yen could buy a couple of square yards of land in Ginza, the heart of Tokyo's premier shopping district. Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 52.

Japanese spectators at the pier whispered that it was cruel for their parents to send them to a "barbarous land like America."[30]

Tsuda Sen's decision to apply for a government scholarship for Ume was based on the potential socio-economic value of his daughter's education, as well as his interest in and familiarity with the United States. The declining position of the samurai class and the possibility of regaining influence under a new government similarly figured in the Yamakawa family's decision over the foreign education of their daughter, Sutematsu.[31] The potential benefits of Ume's education must have appeared attractive to Sen considering that in 1870 and 1871, the new Meiji government removed Tokugawa class distinctions, including samurai privileges.[32] Furthermore, like many young samurai of his time, Sen was an avid student of *yôgaku* (western learning) and he studied Dutch and English languages.[33] Also, he had been to the United States as an interpreter to the Tokugawa government.[34] During his trip to the United States in 1867, he was deeply impressed with the scientific and technological advancements, and, according to Furuki Yoshiko, he experienced "enlightenment."[35] Embarrassed by his topknot, a symbol of his samurai rank, he cut it off and sent it back to his wife.[36] This was a bold move that apparently symbolized Sen's rejection of the old ways. It would not be until four years later that the Meiji government ordered the removal of topknots in Japan.

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[30] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 6. This is the only known group of female government scholars sent to the United States. The Ministry of Education also selected three students, including Hatoyama Haruko, to study in the United States in 1879, but the trip was cancelled. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko," 84.

[31] Kuno Akiko [great-granddaughter of Yamakawa Sutematsu], Interview in "Yume wa toki o koete."

[32] In 1870, intermarriage was allowed between the *kazoku* (peers – former *daimyô* and court aristocrats), *shizuko* (samurai), and the *heimin* (commoners). In 1871, carrying two swords and wearing a topknot were made optional for the *kazoku* and the *shizuko*. This was followed by the abolition of the "samurai's right to cut down disrespectful commoners with impunity." Tsuzuki Chushichi, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan, 1825-1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 63-64; Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 90, 92.

[33] Their guardians' interest in *yôgaku* was another common background the five girls shared.

[34] Tsuda Sen was appointed as interpreter to the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1862. Iseda, "Tsuda Umeko," 7.

[35] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 14-15.

[36] Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 130-31.

Tsuda Sen was a progressive man who was ahead of his time. He was open to western ideas and technology, especially those related to agriculture.[37] This must have made him receptive to the idea of sending his six-year-old daughter to the United States. Like Fukuzawa, Sen was a member of the *Meirokusha* (Meiji Six Society), a prominent group of intellectuals whose slogan was *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment). His pioneering work in agriculture included an experimental farm in Azabu, where he transplanted foreign fruits like strawberries, and vegetables such as celery, asparagus, and artichoke.[38] In 1876, he established the Nôgakusha, a school that disseminated knowledge of modern methods of agriculture. It was known as one of the leading schools for western learning. Sen's bold and adventurous spirit was also evident in his early conversion to Christianity. In January 1875, he and his wife Hatsuko (1843-1909) were among the first members of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in Tokyo baptized by Reverend Julius Soper.[39] Sen thereafter became active in Christian work and social reform activities like the temperance and anti-smoking movements.[40]

Furthermore, Tsuda Sen believed in the importance of educating women. This must have inspired and reassured Ume after she returned to Japan that she was not alone in her desire to educate women. Sen first publicly showed his support for women's education in 1874, three years after Ume left for the United States. It is possible, however, that his interest began earlier and this might have been another reason why he applied for a scholarship for Ume.[41] In 1874, he helped establish the Joshi Shôgakkô (Girls' Elementary School), funded by the Methodist-Episcopal church.[42] Despite what he noted as the general opinion in Japan that "no women need education," he was determined to set an example through his family. His wife, eldest daughter, niece, and two sons attended the classes of the Joshi Shôgakkô. Classes were first run out of his neighbor's house and later moved to his own guest room.[43] Sen also made known his favorable attitude towards efforts to educate women during the opening of Nakamura Masanao's school for girls, the Dôninsha Jogakkô, in May 1, 1879. In this occasion, Sen declared that girls should be educated, just like boys.[44]

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[37] Ibid., 130-32; Clara A. N. Whitney, *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan*, eds. M. William Steele and Tamiko Ichimata (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1979), 345.

[38] Tsuda Sen built this farm in 1874. In Clara Whitney's diary dated May 24, 1876, she noted her visit to Tsuda Sen's farm where they picked strawberries and artichokes, watched the silkworms, and walked around the farm planted with bamboo, mulberry, pine, and all kinds of fruit trees. Whitney, *Clara's Diary*, 82-83. In addition, Tsuda Sen was the first person in Japan to establish mail order sales of seeds. His reputation was bolstered by his invention of the Tsuda *nawa* (Tsuda rope), a rope used for pollinating rice, wheat, and other crops. Tsuda-juku Daigaku, ed., "Yume wa toki o *koete*"; Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 24-25; Yamazaki, "Tsuda Umeko," 131.

[39] Elizabeth K. Eder, *Constructing Opportunity: American Women Educators in Early Meiji Japan* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), 96.

[40] Adeline Lanman to Tsuda Ume [hereafter AL TU], 4 June 1889, TJDA.

Tsuda Sen most likely thought that he could contribute to Japan's modernization through his daughter's education in the United States. He helped propagate a positive image of Ume as a public figure in Japan and reinforced her belief that she had an important role to play in transforming the nation. For example, one of Ume's letters (presumably to her parents) was translated into Japanese and published in the *Nichi nichi shimbun* in Tokyo in July 1875.[45] Sen also placed a collection of buttons from Ume in the government museum in Tokyo.[46] He took great pride in Ume's education and her exposure to "modern" life in the United States. Ume was symbolic of the "enlightenment" of Japanese women and the Japanese nation, and this also brought honor to the Tsuda family.

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[41] Tsuda College graduate and former professor at Tsuda College, Fujita Fumiko, maintains that Tsuda's Sen's first-hand observation of the great impact of education on American girls certainly influenced his decision. Fujita Fumiko, Interview in "Yume wa toki o koete."

[42] The Joshi Shôgakkô was managed by American Dora E. Schoonmaker. In November 1875, its official name was changed to Kyusei Jogakkô (Salvation Girls' School), and renamed Kaigan Jogakkô (Seaside Girls' School) in 1877.

[43] Eder, *Constructing Opportunity*, 96-97, 115-16, n34-35.

[44] Whitney, *Clara's Diary*, 235.

[45] Adeline Lanman's letter to Tsuda Hatsuko, 4 March1872, was also translated and published in the *Shimbun zasshi* 40, April 1872, reprinted in *TUM*, 87-88.

The role of paternal figures – grandfathers, fathers, and older brothers – who possessed the "understanding, insight, and idealistic visions of enlightened men" was crucial in the lives and accomplishments of pioneering women like Japan's first female doctor, Yoshioka Yayoi (1871-1959), and female writers, such as Yosano Akiko (1878-1942).[47] Sen had a similar role in the life of Ume, but what about that of her mother, Hatsuko (1843-1909)? While Sen's influence on Ume's life is a common theme in the scholarship on Tsuda Umeko, the role of Hatsuko is often neglected or downplayed. Tsuda College Professor Yamazaki Takako's article, for example, notes how Sen's "progressive thinking" altered the course of Ume's life, but it does not mention Hatsuko at all.[48] Her book mentions Hatsuko, but it was mainly about her family background.[49] The "Yume wa toki wo koete: Tsuda Umeko ga tzumuida kizuna," a film on Tsuda Umeko and her legacy produced by the Tsuda Juku Daigaku (Tsuda College) in 2003, barely mentions Hatsuko. Among the few scholars who have recognized Hatsuko's role in Ume's life are Tsuda College professor Furuki Yoshiko, who portrays Hatsuko as a loving mother who was deeply appreciative of the Lanmans' care of her daughter.[50] Like Furuki, Iseda Yōko traces Ume's interest in science to Sen, and attributes Ume's interest in dancing to Hatsuko whose artistic accomplishments included playing the *koto* (Japanese harp) and the *samisen* (three-stringed Japanese guitar).[51] On a more positive note, Martha Tocco pays more attention to Hatsuko's background, pointing out that she was a "product of elite Tokugawa female educational traditions," and she taught Ume her "letters" when she was three years old.[52] In contrast, Rose made scanty reference to Hatsuko and focused mainly on her poor health and unhappiness. She compared the "worn-out and unhappy" Hatsuko, "in whom all emotions had been repressed," to the energetic Adeline Lanman.[53] In Rose's attempt to highlight Hatsuko's "constricted life," she presented the life of a white middle-class American woman as the norm. Rose might have viewed Hatsuko's emotional composure negatively, but this was a virtue held as ideal, especially for samurai women. In fact, Anna Hartshorne, who first came to Japan in 1893 to teach at the Kazoku Jogakkô, thought that behind Hatsuko's composure was "probably a woman of strong opinions and determination."[54]

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[46] Tsuda Sen to Charles Lanman, 10 July 1875, TJDA.

[47] Chieko Irie Mulhern, "Hani Motoko:The Journalist-Educator," in *Heroic with Grace: Legendary Women of Japan*, ed. Chieko Irie Mulhern (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 212-13.

[48] Yamazaki, "Ume Tsuda," 125-47.

[49] Yamazaki, *Tsuda Umeko*, 14-16.

[50] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 20-21.

Ume's mother was an important influence on her life. Although Hatsuko's life, when not saddled by poor health, revolved mainly around the household, her struggles showed Ume the difficulties that confronted a wife and a mother in Japan. Hatsuko's experiences were, in fact, crucial in the formation of Ume's views on Japanese women. It is unclear what was wrong with Hatsuko's health, but she was often in the hospital and under constant medication.[55] Her pregnancies must have taken a toll on her delicate health.[56] Before Ume left Japan in 1871 she had three siblings and her mother had four more births during the eleven-year period when she was away in the United States.[57] When Hatsuko was well she cooked and sewed, but due to the "ups and downs" of her health Ume's aunt and elder sister Koto had to help manage the household.[58] Aside from the large family, there were Sen's student boarders, and the household was also busy producing tea and attending to the silkworms and the gardens.[59] Many of Sen's business ventures did not attain much success, and in 1884 his school, the Nôgakusha, closed. The family was also saddled with the high cost of raising and educating many children.[60] Without doubt, Hatsuko's struggle with her health and familial responsibilities did not leave Ume a positive impression of a Japanese woman's situation at home.

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[51] Iseda, "Tsuda Umeko," 4.

[52] Martha C. Tocco, "Female education in practice: Norms and texts for women's education in Tokugawa Japan," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in PreModern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, Jahyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 193.

[53] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 20-21, 58.

[54] Letter of Anna Hartshorne, cited in Furuki, *The White Plum*, 51. Hartshorne returned to Japan in May 1902 to teach at the Joshi Eigaku Juku.

[55] TU to AL, 18 June 1883, TJDA. Problems related to Hatsuko's health were present before and long after Ume's return to Japan. See TU to her mother, 7 September 1880; AL to TU, 6 June 1880, 23 June 1888; TU to AL, 23 December 1882, 7

The combined family experiences of Ume, Hatsuko, and Ume's older sister Koto, contributed to Ume's view of the subservient role that wives and daughters were expected to assume at home. There was a dichotomy between Sen's public "liberal image" and his private life. His efforts to educate women and willingness to embrace western technology did not necessarily lead to his rejection of the customs that placed women in what Ume considered as subordinate position. For example, whenever Sen had company for dinner, Hatsuko, Koto, and Ume were relegated to the role of servers, bringing in dishes and refilling the rice bowls of the guests who were always men.

February 1884, TJDA. Rose attributed Hatsuko's chronic illness to her many pregnancies and her vast domestic responsibilities. Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 58.

[56] In April 1883, Hatsuko was hospitalized for an unknown reason. Two months later, she was out of the hospital but she needed to continue her medication for another three months. Less than a year later, she was pregnant with Ume's sister, Tomiko. TU to AL, 18 June 1883, TJDA.

[57] By 1886, Hatsuko had twelve children, one of whom died when Ume was in the United States. For a picture of the Tsuda family taken in 1886, see Whitney, *Clara's Diary*, 135.

[58] TU to AL, 23 December 1882, 18 June 1883, TJDA.

[59] Tsuda Hatsuko to Ume, 15 May 1879, TJDA.

[60] TU to AL, 18 January 1884, 11 November 1883, TJDA. Tsuda Sen's school closed in December 1884. In September 1885 Ume wrote to Adeline Lanman that it was a "great deal" for their large family to send her younger sister Fuki to the Peeresses' School because of the school expenses. TU to AL, 13 September 1885, TJDA.

Finding this different from her life in the United States and frustrated over this new experience of not being able to meet and converse with her father's friends, Ume denounced Japanese women's subordinate role as "waiters for men." She was also exasperated over her father's practice of leaving his papers everywhere in the house and ordering Hatsuko or Koto to find them. This was obviously the basis of her statement to Adeline that Japanese men not only expected women to "pick up parcels, sew, cook, lift burdens, do all the work" so they could sit and relax, but they also ordered their wives like servants "to bring this and that."[61]

Ume's American Education and Upbringing with the Lanmans

Ume's American education was from the schools she attended and from Charles (1819-1895) and Adeline Lanman.[62] Particular attention must be paid to Adeline, who played an important role in Ume's life. Prior to the 1984 discovery of the letters exchanged between them, hardly anything had been said about the nature and extent of Adeline's influence on Ume.[63] Adeline was like a mother to Ume and she instilled in her a sense of duty.[64] She was also a confidante and a morale booster. Ume lamented to Adeline about the conditions of Japanese women and shared her thoughts on the possible solutions to women's problems.

After the five Japanese girls arrived in Washington, D.C. on February 29, 1872, they all lived in a rented house under the guidance of a governess. Several months later, Ryō and Tei returned to Japan because of health and adjustment problems, while Ume,

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[61] TU to AL, 23 December 1882, 6 January, 27 April, and 23 May 1883, TJDA.

[62] Before Ume left Japan, she studied at a *kajuku*, a government-recognized school in a scholar's home, where she learned how to read and write. She also learned how to dance. Ikeda, "Tsuda Umeko," 3-4.

[63] On the influence of Charles Lanman on Ume, see Furuki, *The White Plum*, 26, 30-32, 34-35; Takahashi, Interview in "Yume wa toki o koete."

[64] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 21.

Shige, and Sutematsu were assigned to different American families.[65] Mori Arinori, Officer-In-Charge of the Japanese Legation in Washington and the girls' legal guardian in the United States, decided that this was the best way to facilitate the girls' adjustment to American culture and their learning of the English language. Shige was first assigned to live with the family of Reverend John S.C. Abbott in Fair Haven, Connecticut, but later moved in with Sutematsu at the home of Reverend Leonard Bacon in New Haven, Connecticut. Ume lived with Charles Lanman, secretary to the Japanese Legation, in Georgetown, a suburb of Washington, D.C. Charles and his wife Adeline were childless.

Respected for their intellectual and cultural background, the Bacons and Lanmans were obviously no ordinary families.[66] Aside from having an acceptable socio-economic position, they also shared Mori's visions of how the girls should be educated and what kind of roles they should assume in society. Leonard Bacon's firm assurance to Mori that Sutematsu and Shige would be taught "knowledge of domestic duties and employments" befitting an "American lady and mistress of the family" paralleled Mori's desire for the girls to be groomed as potential wives of educated men in Japan.[67] As for the Lanmans, they took their responsibility to bring up Ume properly seriously and, in the words of Adeline, "to lead her in the right path."[68] Ume attended prominent girls' schools in Washington, "where she received the education typical of a middle-class American girl."[69] She first entered Stephenson Seminary, located not far from the Lanman home, where her subjects included arithmetic, composition, elocution, recitation, spelling, and geography.[70] She was a fast learner and a good student. Two years after they arrived in the United States, Sutematsu visited the nine-year-old Ume in Georgetown and she marveled at her ability to read and recite poems in the English language.[71] After Ume's studies at Lucy Stephenson's school she enrolled at the Archer's Institute, a girl's high school in Washington, which counted among its students the daughters of prominent families.[72] Graduating from the Archer Institute in June 1882, her school certificate attests to her excellence in astronomy, mathematics, and languages, especially Latin and French.[73] She also exhibited an "ambitious and persevering" attitude in her music lessons, and her progress, in the words of her German music teacher, "compares favorably with that of our European and American girls of her age."[74] Ume had proven herself equal to these girls.

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[65] On the process of Mori's search for host families, see Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 73-80.

[66] Leonard Bacon was the minister of the Center Church, the most prominent church in New Haven. He also lectured on the history of churches and on church policies at the Theology Department, Yale University.

[67] Leonard Bacon to Mori Arinori, 31 October 1872, New Haven, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 77-78.

[68] Adeline Lanman to Mrs. Bacon, 6 February 1875, Georgetown, Washington, D.C., reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 88-89.

[69] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 21.

Described as a "cultured family," the Lanmans displayed a "combination of refinement and piety" typical of middle-class American families.[75] Their home – a brick house at 120 West Street – was noted for its "rare collection of literary and artistic works."[76] Ume observed with great interest the numerous and interesting books and pictures, and "pleasant garden with many fruit trees and flowers" surrounding the

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[70] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 28.

[71] During the June Class Day in 1874, Ume was the only one in her class who perfectly recited, without the aid of a book, her chosen poem, William Cullen Bryant's "White-Footed Deer." Bryant's poem stresses the importance of having a "spirit of humanity" towards animals. Furuki, *The White Plum*, 31.

[72] In Ume's letters to her mother, she noted the presence of Mrs. Hayes, the first lady, in several school occasions. TU to her mother, 15 June and 23 November 1879, TJDA.

[73] Sutematsu and Shige entered Vassar College. Sutematsu studied natural science while Shige studied music. After graduating from Vassar, Sutematsu studied for a short time at the Connecticut Training School for Nurses. Tsuda-juku Daigaku, ed., "Yume wa toki o koete."

[74] "Certificate from Music Instructor," 1878, reprinted in *TUM*, 511.

[75] This was the description of Charles Lanman given by B.G. Northrop, who was requested by Mori to make home arrangements for the girls. B.G. Northrop, "The First Japanese Girls Educated in America: Their Influence in Japan," *The New York Independent*, 1893 or 1894?, TJDA.

[76] Citation on a petition written to save the Lanman house from demolition, cited in Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 20.

Lanman home.[77] Charles, grandson of Senator James Lanman of Connecticut, had published over thirty books and was also a painter.[78] Adeline, daughter of a New England merchant, was educated at the age of sixteen at the Convent of the Visitation, presumably in Georgetown. She was a product of a forward-looking school that first introduced science courses in 1826, twenty years earlier than Harvard.[79] Louise Demakis, in fact, attributes Ume's interest in science, which she demonstrated at Bryn Mawr College in 1889, to Adeline's influence.[80] It is unclear, however, how much of her school's emphasis on science Adeline had embraced and passed on to Ume.

Charles and Adeline provided Ume with a white middle-class upbringing that shaped her interests and later activities in Japan. Her upbringing in the United States influenced her view on how Japanese women should be educated and what kind of activities they should engage in. "Good books" were basic components of Ume's education under the Lanmans. She read the poems of Longfellow and Bryant, and what Charles regarded as the "better class of novels." She read biographies of Caesar, Josephine, and Darwin, as well as the works of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Byron, and Tennyson. Her personal library also included many books on Shakespeare and one on Tennyson.[81] Long after Ume returned to Japan, when she promoted the importance of reading English-language literature to Japanese girls, she referred to the Lanmans' big library. Here she "reveled as a mouse would in a cheese cloth," and read "many things, good or bad," oftentimes without the knowledge of Charles and Adeline. She explained that it was her exposure to "real books" at the Lanman home, rather than her school work, that developed her love of reading and laid the foundation of her study in college.[82]

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[77] Tsuda, "My Home in Japan, and My House in American," 1875, essay attached to Charles Lanman's letter to Tsuda Sen, 22 May 1875, TJDA. In addition, Sutematsu, who visited Ume in several occasions (e.g., Christmas of 1875), described the Lanman residence as a place "with all the comforts and luxuries." Yamakawa to Tsuda, 9 October 1881, Vassar College, TJDA.

[78] Charles Lanman's publications include guidebooks, biographies, and personal sketches, such as *The Private Life of Daniel Webster* (1852), and *The Japanese in America* (1872). Lanman also painted and made sketches of places and houses, including Longfellow's old house in Newbury. Furuki, *The White Plum*, 24, 30.

[79] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 21.

[80] Speech of Louise Demakis delivered during the Tsuda College's ninetieth anniversary in 1990, cited in Furuki, *The White Plum*, 35. Rose maintains that Ume's choice of biology as her field of study was her way of showing to the Meiji government that she could master a "masculine subject." Male overseas students during the early Meiji decades specialized in science, medicine, and engineering. Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 94.

[81] Mrs. Lanman to Mrs. Tsuda, 6 June 1880, TJDA; Furuki, *The White Plum*, 33; "Ume Tsuda's Personal Library," in *TUM*, 531, 533.

Aside from reading, Ume also spent her time learning how to play the piano, playing croquet and lawn tennis with her friends, and interacting with the Lanmans' friends and acquaintances, including professors and prominent literary figures like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the poet John Greenleaf Whittier.[83] Together with the Lanmans, Ume went on summer trips to Boston, New York, Pennsylvania, and Montreal, Canada, which were intended to expand her knowledge after the regular classes had ended.[84] The Lanmans assured Sen and Hatsuko that these vacations would give their daughter "valuable information."[85] Meant to reassure Ume's parents that they were fulfilling their obligation to educate her, the Lanmans' pronouncements bore a striking resemblance to Ume's assurance to her mother that her summer trip to the Niagara Falls and Montreal in 1879 was not just to "see much beautiful scenery," but also to "gain information."[86] Ume, as Furuki rightly notes, fully understood "the meaning of her position" – that her country had invested heavily in her education and that something was expected from her back in Japan.[87]

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[82] Tsuda, "Possibilities of English literature in Middle School," speech given at a teachers' conference in Japan, 1906, TJDA.

[83] TU to Mother, 15 June 1879; TU to Father, 11 June 1873, TJDA. Ume had an opportunity to meet Longfellow and Whittier when she and the Lanmans visited Adeline's brother-in-law in Indian Hill, Massachusetts. Furuki, *The White Plum*, 30.

[84] TU to Father, 11 June 1873; TU to Mother, 7 September 1880, TJDA.

[85] Charles Lanman to Mr. Tsuda, 11 June 1873; Mrs. Lanman to Mrs. Tsuda, 6 June 1880, TJDA.

[86] TU to Mother, 15 June 1879, TJDA.

[87] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 21.

On July 13, 1873, the nine-year-old Ume was baptized into the Protestant Episcopal church by Reverend O. Perenchief.[88] Like the then sixteen-year-old Sutematsu who was baptized in 1876 at the Center Church in New Haven, Ume's conversion was said to be her own decision.[89] It must be noted that Charles and Adeline were Episcopalians. With the ban on Christianity lifted in Japan in February 1873, Ume's conversion was not surprising given the strong Christian environment in the Lanman home.

Adeline was engaged in various charitable endeavors and Ume's observations of her activities contributed to her understanding of the appropriate social roles for educated women in Japan. In 1895, after Ume returned to Japan, Adeline praised her for "such good works" as helping the families of poor Japanese soldiers during the Sino-Japanese war. Adeline also apologized to Ume for her inability to contribute because she was short of money and she had her charities at home.[90]

When Ume returned to Japan in 1882, she had difficulty speaking the Japanese language and she saw the world differently. She turned to Adeline as an important outlet for her loneliness and frustrations.[91] She wrote to Adeline at least four times a month during the first two years of her return, sharing with her critical comments about Japanese conventions, including the expectation for a Japanese woman to possess the skill of sewing.[92] For example, she thought it was easier to pay a dressmaker than to learn to do the sewing herself. This seemed to be a practical choice for Ume, but implicit in her view about sewing was her questioning of what society had defined as an important skill for a

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[88] A copy of Ume's baptismal record is reprinted in *TUM*, 509.
[89] Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 81.
[90] AL to TU, 25 July and 3 August 1895, TJDA.
[91] See Pamonag, "'A Japanese Woman with an Education'".
[92] TU to AL, 31 March 1883, TJDA.

Japanese woman. Aside from lending an ear to Ume, Adeline also advised her on almost everything – from having her teeth fixed, to the merits of walking rather than taking the *jinricksha* to school, and the ways she could save on furniture if ever she had her own house. Adeline also sent books like the *Chronological History of the Bible*.[93] She helped Ume earn some money by editing her essays on Japan and looking for prospective magazines in the United States that would publish her work.[94] Ume did not want to become a burden to her family. She believed that having some income from writing would not make marriage a necessity for an eighteen-year old woman like her.[95]

Above all, Adeline became Ume's first audience with whom she shared her plans to elevate the women in Japan. Feminist historian Gerda Lerner has highlighted the importance of figures like Adeline when she wrote that "thinking women, like men, not only needed other thinkers against whom to argue in order to test out their ideas, but they needed audiences, whether private or public."[96] For example, Ume shared with Adeline her critical comments regarding the subservient attitude expected from women in Japan.[97] Ever conscious of her government-sponsored education, she warned Adeline not to show her letters around, especially to the members of the Japanese Legation in Washington.[98] The ideas on women and women's education that Ume shared with Adeline through her letters in the 1880s appeared in her speeches, writings, and initiatives in later years.

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[93] AL to TU, 3 and 31 October 1887; Christmas day 1892, TJDA.

[94] TU to AL, 19 September and 11 November 1883, 27 March 1884, TJDA. Ume was most likely inspired by Sutematsu's effort to ease the financial burden on her family. Sutematsu asked Alice to find a publisher in the United States for her essay on Japan. Sutematsu's article, "First Impressions of Japan," was published in *The Independent* in April 1883. Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 120.

[95] The financial situation of Ume's family and the matchmaking attempts of Shige and Sutematsu (and even Adeline) must have persuaded Ume to have some income as a way to delay marriage, although she believed that her father would not force her to marry someone whom she did not like. TU to AL, 23 December 1882, TJDA.

[96] Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-seventy* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 221.

[97] See, for example, TU to AL, 7 and 17 December 1882, 23 May 1883, TJDA.

[98] TU to AL, 7 and 14 December 1882, 19 December 1883, TJDA.

Adeline also encouraged and boosted Ume's spirit when she felt alone and unsure of what to do. As Ume wrote Adeline, "do not shame me by praising me for my hopes; do not make my lack of doing so much the worse by telling how much you expect, and how much I may do, and how proud you are."[99]

Ume had acknowledged the vital role of the Lanmans in awakening her consciousness – in leading her, in her words, "from my child's ignorance."[100] Without doubt, Adeline and Charles assumed a tremendous part in Ume's intellectual and spiritual "enlightenment."[101] Their "progressive attitude" should not be overemphasized, however. Ume's independent thoughts and actions did not, at all times, mirror those of Adeline. Ume was her own person. Praising Ume for her independence and self-reliance, Adeline confessed that she was so dependent on her husband that she could not decide to go anywhere without him. She attributed this mainly to the way she was brought up, having six brothers and not being allowed to go anywhere without one of them for protection.[102] Furthermore, the "quiet home life" of the Lanmans did not favor "gaieties," including dancing for Ume, but she learned and enjoyed dancing back in Japan. She even encouraged her sister Koto to try it. Assuming that "[Japanese] men and women" had less opportunity to interact with each other, Ume stressed that dancing would make them interact more. She also argued that dancing was a form of "active healthy exercise" for women, which was better than those "singing girls and dancing women at every entertainment," by which she meant the *geisha*. Notwithstanding the differences in Ume's and Adeline's attributes and ideals, Adeline supported Ume in her plan to promote the education of women in Japan, although she cautioned her not to "revolutionize [Japanese] society or religion."[103] Ume, however, had chosen her own path.

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[99] TU to AL, 12 August 1883; AL to TU, 3 April 1890, TJDA.
[100] TU to AL, 23 May 1883, TJDA.
[101] Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 135.
[102] AL to TU, 3 April 1890, 2 June 1892, TJDA.

Ume's Sense of Duty: "Above them, yet truly one of them"

Despite Ume's feelings of frustration and alienation in Japan, especially during the early years after she returned home, she was determined to work for "the good" of her "countrywomen" because of her strong sense of duty to her country and the women.[104] Rose traces Ume's sense of duty to the Confucian emphasis on filial piety and the samurai values of loyalty and service, which were strengthened by her years in the United States.[105] More specifically, as Furuki suggests, the mandate from the Empress to study for the betterment of Japanese women had taken deep roots, reinforced by the teachings of Mori, the Lanmans, and Ume's parents.[106] The reminders of these people were certainly important to Ume, but she chose to act because she believed it was imperative given her observations on the conditions of women in Japan. She was convinced that only a Japanese like her could do the work necessary to improve women's lives. Between her and Shige and Sutematsu, she thought she was the only one left who could make their dreams for women a reality.

Ume traced her interest in elevating Japanese women to her long-standing desire to help them and to what she regarded as the "difference" between the women in the United States and in Japan. When she returned home and saw the "difference between Japan and America," she reflected, "[h]ow I could help not wanting to do something for the women of Japan?" She maintained that "in blind ignorance," a "Japanese wife" did everything for her husband – "a most respectful, obedient and dutiful way must be hers to her husband." Presenting the "Japanese wife" as homogeneous, Ume declared that the Japanese wife was often unloved, considered a "plaything," and treated like a servant in her own home. Ume also took issue with early marriage, a popular practice across classes in Japan. Unlike in the United States where twenty years old was, according to her, the "right time" for girls to get married, in Japan she estimated the average marrying age of girls in the early 1880s to be between fourteen and sixteen. "Now, is not that dreadful?" she lamented to Adeline Lanman, "how can they study or learn anything if they are married at fourteen?" [107] Early marriage was, indeed, a major cause of declining enrollment in many girls' schools in Japan as it prevented those who could afford to go to school from proceeding beyond this level.[108]

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[103] TU to AL, 3 August 1895, 11 April 1883, TJDA.
[104] Tsuda, "Japanese Women Emancipated," reprinted in *TUM*, 78-79.
[105] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 29.
[106] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 21.

There are limitations, however, to Ume's observations of differences between Japan and the United States. They were based mainly on her life in Tokyo as a daughter of a former samurai and on her experience growing up in a white middle-class family in Washington. Ume's notion of Japan's difference, for the most part, ignored the complexities in women's lives.[109] Implicit in her thinking on Japan's difference was the hierarchy of nations, especially in Asia, although she rejected the hegemonic discourse of American superiority.[110] Her notion of Japan's difference masked her beliefs of Japan's cultural superiority in Asia as she positioned Japan below the United States, but "far above" all "Eastern nations" and also some nations in Europe.[111]

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[107] TU to AL, 12 August 1883, 23 December 1882, TJDA.

[108] Elizabeth Poorbaugh to the Mission Board, 23 February 1892, reprinted in C. William Menzendiek, *A Dream Incarnate: The Beginnings of Miyagi Gakuin for Women* (Miyagi: Miyagi Gakuin, 1986), 75, 87n18.

[109] Tsuda did acknowledge that gender-based inequality in Japan became less as you went down the social ladder, noting that it was only "in the poorest class that there seems to be absolute equality." Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in TUM, 23. My thinking on Japan's difference was influenced by feminist Chandra Talpade Mohanty who argued that through the production of "third world difference," "Western feminisms" appropriate and colonize the complexities which characterize the lives of women in "third world" countries. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 54.

[110] Tsuda rejected the notion that everything in the United States was superior. Although she declared that "American

Ume was also compelled to launch reforms for women because of her reservations about the foreign Christian missionaries who were at the forefront of the movement to educate Japanese women in the 1870s and 1880s. She believed that only the "natives" could truly understand the Japanese people, declaring that only someone like her could do the work necessary for the women in Japan. Drawing on her observations and reinforced by her father's and older sister's comments, she maintained that missionaries and foreigners in general, and Americans in particular, were excessively narrow-minded. They refused to consider that there was anything good in Japan, insisting that everything American was "unsurpassable." They were too conscious of their sect and regarded Christian Japanese leaders from other sects as competitors. For example, Julius Soper, an American Methodist pastor, complained that Kôzaki Hiromichi, a Congregational Japanese minister, was taking away his flock. The issue, however, was not just over the difference in sect. It was complicated by the tensions between the Japanese and foreign Christians, discussed in chapter four and also noted by Ume.[112] In addition, Ume contended that foreign missionaries lived in a "foreign circle" in their luxurious and comfortable houses, far removed from the "regular Japanese homes."[113]

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women" should be thankful for their "strength of decision," she also admired the "mind and gentle ways" of the women in Japan. In addition, she thought that the Japanese clothes were less bothersome compared to the foolish "American rigging with tight corsets and deformed figures." TU to AL, 18 March and 23 May 1883, TJDA. On Japanese intellectuals' ideas on Japan's difference from the neighboring Asian countries, see Stephan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[111] TU to AL, 23 May and 12 August 1883, TJDA.

[112] Despite Tsuda Sen's early work with the missionaries, Ume thought in 1882 that her father disliked the missionaries and their schools, so he sent his younger daughter Fuki to a Japanese school. TU to AL, 17 December 1882, 18 March 1883, TJDA.

[113] Ume also contended that many American missionaries led luxurious lives while the mission schools were poorly-funded. TU to AL, 14 December 1882, 3 September 1883, TJDA.

Ume's critique was meant to question the effectiveness of the foreign missionaries in reaching the Japanese women, particularly those from the old samurai class and the new aristocrats.[114] Her comments regarding the missionaries' attitudes also reveal her sense of identity as Japanese. Yet, her privileged position as an educated Japanese woman placed her in a double bind: it made her feel superior to Other women in Japan, but she also felt responsible for them. She was, in her words, "above them and yet truly one of them."[115]

On November 23, 1882, a few days after Ume arrived in Japan, she noted that her father had already reminded her about the enormous cost of her education, which was "enough to support a [Japanese] family comfortably." Still adjusting to her new way of life, she was unsure of how she was going to "do any good" for the Japanese women, although she never questioned why she would have to do it. A month later she began to express her desire to become an English teacher.[116] This seemed to be a pragmatic choice given her eleven-year stay in the United States. She would later clarify, in a letter to Adeline Lanman in 1887, that knowledge of the English language would expose Japanese girls to "foreign life," which meant other options for women.[117] Despite Sutematsu's reservations regarding Ume's ability to teach, which was most likely due to her lack of teaching experience and insufficient Japanese language skill, she was determined to become a good teacher.[118]

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[114] In 1891, Ume commented on the difficulty of the missionaries to reach women from the "higher classes." Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," 22 August 1891, in *TUM*, 22.

[115] TU to AL, 11 April and 9 June 1883, TJDA.

[116] TU to AL, 23 November and 17 December 1882, TJDA. It must be noted that even before Ume returned to Japan, she, Sutematsu, and Sutematsu's "American sister," Alice Bacon, had already talked about their plan to establish a school for girls in Japan. When Ume was asked about the possibility of her becoming a missionary, she declared that her "path lay somewhere" else. TU to AL, 11 January 1885, TJDA; Furuki, *The White Plum*, 53, 56; Takahashi, Interview in "Yume wa toki o koete."

[117] TU to AL, 19 June 1887, TJDA.

Having fulfilled her mandate to study in the United States, Ume expected the Japanese government to reward her with "a field to work in, a place to teach." Several months passed after she and Sutematsu arrived in Japan, they heard nothing from the *Monbushô* (Ministry of Education) regarding their prospective work.[119] In contrast, the male students who left Japan together with them had already found work at universities and government offices.[120] Ume tried to take everything in stride, but she was obviously disappointed when Yoshida, who replaced Mori as Japanese representative in the United States, gave her an ambivalent response when pressed regarding her desire to teach. Confused and disappointed, she wrote to Adeline Lanman almost a year after she returned to Japan: "Why won't the government take me, I wonder."[121] The Meiji government, according to Rose and Kuno, had lost interest in Ume and Sutematsu, and in women's education as a whole.[122]

Did the government really lose interest in women's education during the 1880s? I would argue that the Education Ministry officials were ambivalent regarding the social roles deemed appropriate for these two young women – models for educated women in Japan. Weren't they supposed to become mothers and wives of educated men? At the same time, the Meiji government tacitly endorsed teaching as a legitimate occupation for women through its establishment of normal schools, the curriculum of which emphasized training in home management and care for children and parents-in-law. Education Ministry bureaucrats also urged women to devote themselves full-time to managing their homes and caring for their children. Although Shige and other Meiji women educators like Tanahashi Ayako and Hatoyama Haruko demonstrated that teaching and marriage could co-exist,[123] Ume seemed to look at marriage and teaching as incompatible. She responded with disdain to the suggestion that she could "do most and best" for her goal if she would marry.[124] As for Sutematsu, the Education Ministry officials were reluctant to give her, a Vassar graduate, a university teaching post because there was no precedent for it.[125] Clearly, the issue was not just about teaching and marriage, but also about the kind of teaching position that was appropriate to these two women.

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[118] Yamakawa Sutematsu to Alice Bacon [hereafter referred to as Yamakawa to Bacon], 18 January 1883, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 162. Ume planned to seek advice on how to become an effective teacher from Adeline's sister, Mollie M. Dodge. TU to AL, 12 August 1883, TJDA.

[119] Shige returned to Japan ahead of the two other and she taught music at the Tokyo Academy of Music. TU to AL, 26 April 1885, 1 and 13 February 1883, TJDA; Ôyama [Yamakawa] to Bacon, in Tsuda-juku Daigaku, ed., "Yume wa toki o koete."

[120] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education*, 49

[121] TU to AL, 27 March and 16 October 1883, TJDA.

[122] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education*, 49; Kuno Akiko, Interview in "Yume wa toki o koete"; Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 120.

Aside from Ume's desire to teach in a government school, she also hoped for a government endowment that would enable her and Sutematsu to build a school for girls.[126] Ume, Sutematsu, and Alice Bacon, Sutematsu's American sister, had already talked about this when they were still in the United States. This idea was compatible with the suggestion of "many people" in Japan who stressed that what was needed in the country was a school for girls from the higher classes that would train them to become

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[123] Hastings, "Women Educators of the Meiji Era," 85; Hastings, "American Culture," 623; Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman," 81-98.

[124] Ume did not totally reject the possibility of her getting married, but, favoring a marriage based on love, she thought it would be difficult to find her ideal husband in Japan. TU to AL, 1 June 1886, 12 August 1883, TJDA. Ōba Minako also noted that Ume certainly had no paranoia about men, nor did she hate them. Ōba Minako, *Tsuda Umeko* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1990), 168-69.

[125] Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 120.

[126] Tsuda also dreamt of having her own school. Wanting to have an income, Sutematsu thought of doing the same thing with her sister. She planned to convert a little house and teach the wives of young officers and "daimyo daughters." TU to AL, 17 December 1882,18 March and 25 May 1883, TJDA; Yamakawa to Bacon, 11 December 1882, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 119-20.

"wives of the great men."[127] Although Ume warned Adeline that their plan of building a school was "visionary," she thought it would allow them to do "grand work" for women. She believed that a few hours of teaching at the Normal School in Tokyo, a school that was "in the control of people who know nothing of education," or in any other government school would not have the same effect on women.[128]

Most likely because of Sutematsu's age, Ume first looked upon her as the leader of their prospective school. Thus, the news about Sutematsu's impending marriage to War Minister Ōyama Iwao in November 1883 made Ume feel that she was the only one left who could realize their plan. She was happy that her friend would be married to a man of such high and influential position, but she thought it was not proper for a minister's (*sangi*) wife to teach and she would lose Sutematsu's help. She was afraid that marriage would make Sutematsu go "away in her sphere," where she would lose her own identity. As Ume confided to Adeline, Sutematsu would become "Madam Oyama – no more our Steam, our Vassar graduate, or hospital nurse, or schoolteacher."[129] Ume's concerns reflected her fear of losing a partner in their education project, as well as her view of the constricting effects of marriage. Sutematsu did not think, however, that it was only through teaching that she could repay her debt to her country.[130] Thereafter, the school became Tsuda's own project, with Sutematsu as her advisor. Discouraged by the Meiji government's lack of response to her intention to teach, Ume thought there was no chance they would build her a school for girls. Although she was unsure where she would get the money, she was determined to build it and dedicate her life to teaching.

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[127] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 53, 56; Takahashi, Interview in "Yume wa toki o koete."
[128] TU to AL, 17 December 1882, TJDA.
[129] TU to AL, 27 March 1883, TJDA.
[130] Yamakawa to Bacon, 5 April 1883, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 135-36.

Meanwhile, determined to repay her debt to the government, Ume waited anxiously for an appointment to a government school. This prospective position could also potentially give her the contacts she needed to carry out her projects for women's education. While waiting for a government offer, she accepted a temporary teaching job at a Methodist mission school, the Kaigan Jogakkô, in the summer of 1883. Despite her dislike of working for the missionaries, she believed that this work would give her an opportunity to interact with Japanese girls and to earn some money. It was followed by a string of jobs as an English language tutor to the wife and daughter of Imperial Household Minister Ito Hirobumi, as English language instructor at the Toyo Jo Juku, a private school managed by Utako Shimoda, and at the Meiji Jogakkô, a Japanese school founded by Christian Japanese and later managed by Iwamoto. Finally in 1886, four years after Ume returned to Japan, the government appointed her as an English teacher at the Kazoku Jogakkô, a girl's school administered by the Imperial Ministry.[131]

Three years after Ume started teaching at the Kazoku Jogakkô, she applied for a grant to once again study in the United States. In 1889, she went back to the United States and enrolled as a special student, with research interest in biology, at Bryn Mawr College in Philadelphia.[132] Her two-year stint at Bryn Mawr enabled her to establish valuable contacts and to solicit advice, especially from Bryn Mawr dean and second president M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935), a feminist and staunch supporter of women's education.[133] At Bryn Mawr, M. Carey Thomas changed the emphasis of the newly founded women's college curriculum from moral discipline to academic rigor, rejecting the notion that women were incapable of higher education.[134] Ume's study at Bryn Mawr and her interaction with M. Carey Thomas strengthened her conviction to promote higher education for Japanese women and, like her mentor, silence those who were critical of such an endeavor. [135]

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[131] TU to AL, 25 May, 9 June, and 20 November 1883, TJDA.

[132] In collaboration with Prof. Thomas Hunt Morgan, Ume published her research results entitled "The Orientation of the Frog's Eggs" in *The Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science* (1894), reprinted in *TUM*, 3-14.

[133] At the time when women were believed to be incapable of rigorous study, M. Carey Thomas went to Europe and enrolled at Zurich University, where she graduated summa cum laude PhD in1882.

Working for the "Good of Our Countrywomen"

Tsuda's ideas on women inspired her to push the boundaries of women's education in Japan. Like many of the American missionaries, she traced the subordinate position of Japanese women to their lack of education and Christian values. The elevation of the condition of women and the spread of Christian values in Japan intertwined in Tsuda's view of why, how, and which women should be educated.[136]

Which Women Should be Educated and Why

Japanese women, Tsuda suggested, had false consciousness because they had little or no education. She maintained that despite a wife's poor treatment at home, she considered herself happy as long as she had a home, a husband, and children. She often assumed a subservient role in the family, serving her husband "like a servant" and raising children who were "more often his than hers."[137] Although Tsuda acknowledged that life for women had improved after the Meiji Restoration and that the situation was often different in Tokyo, her comments presupposed a homogeneous "Japanese woman." What were the bases of her observations? They seemed to be based mainly on the experiences of women she was constantly exposed to – members of the old samurai class, including her mother and older sister, Koto. Even then, it is difficult to assume a monolithic practice by women from this group. Tsuda's comments also focused on women's performance of their household duties and she neglected the meanings women gave to their roles. Nonetheless, underlying her comment that a wife raised children who were "more often his than hers" was her critique of the situation wherein mothers, who could be easily divorced by their husbands, were denied custody of their children after such a divorce. In addition, Tsuda rightfully noted the denial of women's right to own property. Given these adverse conditions women faced, she identified "better, higher" education of women as a solution to their problems.[138]

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[134] Barbara Miller Solomon, *In The Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 49. Many thanks to Prof. Susan Smith for lending me a copy of this book. Also see M. Carey Thomas, "The 'Bryn Mawr Woman,'" Notes for the opening address at Bryn Mawr College, 1899, in *The Educated Woman in America: Selected Writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller, and M. Carey Thomas*, ed. Barbara M. Cross (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), 139-44.

[135] On the influence of M. Carey Thomas and Bryn Mawr College on the formation of Ume's ideas on women's education, see Furuki, *The White Plum*, 86; Takahashi, "Umeko Tsuda," 136-40; Takahashi Yūko, "M. Carey Thomas," in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito* [The People Who Supported Tsuda Umeko], eds. Iino Masako, Kameda Kinuko, and Takahashi Yūko (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2000), 110-16; Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 81-82, 94-96.

[136] TU to AL, 23 May and 12 August 1883, TJDA; Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 22, 25.

[137] TU to AL, 12 August 1883, TJDA.

Did Tsuda believe in educating all girls and women in Japan? Like the early advocates of women's education in Europe, [139] she paid particular attention to the education of girls from the "upper classes," referring mainly to the members of the *kazoku* (aristocracy) and the *shizuko* (former samurai).[140] In a speech she delivered in Philadelphia in 1891, she explained that this was of utmost necessity because women from these classes had the potential to have the "greatest influence" in society.[141] Yet, unlike those from the lower class, they were the "most backward" because they were isolated inside their homes, they lack "occupation and responsibility," and they had a subordinate position within the family.[142] In an effort to convince a predominantly female American audience of the need to contribute to a scholarship fund that would send Japanese women to study in the United States, Tsuda, for the most part, presented a generalized picture of the lives of Japanese women from the higher classes. Such a picture obscured the important role these women played and the influence they had over their households. As Uno points out, while it was true that the household head (*koshu*), who was usually a male, had the "greatest nominal authority," the housewife (*shufu*) had "the most authority in her sphere."[143] Nonetheless, Tsuda contended that it was difficult to remedy the "backwardness" of upper-class women because they were inaccessible to foreign Christian missionaries and to the "advocates of new education" who, like herself, sought to expand women's role in the family, outside of just being "ornaments for the home" and "plaything for men."[144]

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[138] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 23; Tsuda, "Teaching in Japan," *The Bryn Mawr Alumnae Quarterly* (August 1907), reprinted in *TUM*, 93.

[139] For example, seventeenth-century Dutch scholar Anna Maria von Schurman (1607-1678) favored the education of girls from well-to-do families. Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*, 196.

[140] In 1884, the Meiji government bestowed titles, such as marquis, count, viscount, baron, to around 1000 households, including that of former *daimyō* (feudal lords) and *kuge* (court nobles). Those below the royalty were the *kazoku* (peers), followed by the samurai (*shizoku*), and the *heimin* (common people).

[141] Although Tsuda favored first the education of girls from the higher classes, she pointed to the need for a school that would provide "liberal education" to "women from all classes and without restriction." She also took in as dependents in her home a few girls to whom she gave English lessons in her spare time. Tsuda, "The Future of Japanese Women," *The Far East*, January 1897, reprinted in *TUM*, 74-75; TU to AL, 17 December1882, 7 March 1885, TJDA; Kawai Michi, *My*

During the early years of her return to Japan, Tsuda rightly identified women as the direct beneficiaries of their education, thereby defining a new identity for women independent of their husbands. In 1883, she wrote to Adeline Lanman that it was wrong that many Japanese women acquired education only after they were married and only because they did not want their husbands to be ashamed of them, or because they were

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Lantern (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1939), 60.

[142] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 22; TU to AL, 17 December 1882, TJDA. Tsuda and Sutematsu had similar view on this matter. Yamakawa to Bacon, 8 March 1884, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 159-60.

[143] Kathleen S. Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1991), 24.

[144] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 22. Tsuda clarified that missionaries focused their educational efforts on the lower class rather than on the higher classes. TU to AL, 17 December 1882, TJDA.

just following their husband's desire for them "to be clever."[145] Tsuda's view on why women acquired education only after marriage ignored the many different reasons why girls failed to go to school in the first place, or to proceed beyond the elementary school.[146] Yet, underpinning her pronouncement was her belief that women should be educated for themselves, not solely for their husbands, their family, or the nation. This was an important facet of her early perspective on women's education, which differed significantly from that of Education Ministry officials and other non-government reformers like Fukuzawa and Iwamoto. For the most part, they directly linked women's education to the family and the nation. Tsuda's argument was similar to that of women's rights advocate Kishida Toshiko (1863-1901) who stressed that women's education should enable women to manage their own lives.[147]

Tsuda's feminist argument for women to directly benefit from their education implicitly challenged the Confucian teaching of "three obediences." This Confucian teaching, she maintained, resulted in the woman's identity being "merged in that of father, husband, or some male relative."[148] The conflation of women's identity and interest with that of male figures was an underlying principle behind the provision of the 1898 Meiji Civil Code. It placed women under the authority of the *ie* (household) – meaning male family head – and denied them rights, including the right to choose family domicile and to manage their own property.

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[145] TU to AL, 8 March 1883, TJDA.

[146] It was not necessarily because girls lacked the interest to study, but because their parents could not afford to send them to school or did not believe it was necessary to educate them, or because they married them off at an early age. For example, a local newspaper in Nagano in 1883 reported that many parents did not believe that it was necessary to educate their daughters. Instead, they were sent to work in silk factories or as nursemaids (*komori*). Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Songs as Weapons: The Culture and History of Komori (Nursemaids) in Modern Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 4 (November 1991): 801.

[147] Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 40-41.

[148] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," reprinted in *TUM*, 23.

Related to Tsuda's argument that education was for the sake of women themselves was her encouragement for women to rise above their inferior position. This is a fundamental step, according to Lerner, in changing women's way of thinking and in transforming their lives.[149] In Tsuda's letters to Adeline Lanman in the early 1880s, she wrote that Japanese women lacked an independent spirit. They were "well-satisfied, and do not seem to know any better," and "they feel they are inferior and don't try to rise at all." [150] Although Tsuda's view resonated with the American missionaries' common characterization of Japanese women as ignorant and helpless, and needing to be rescued from their deplorable conditions, underlying Tsuda's statement was her exhortation for Japanese women to elevate their position [151] Notwithstanding these views and representations of Japanese women, Kusunose Kita (1836-1920) petitioned for the right to vote in 1878, writers like Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-1896) denounced the state of matrimony in the 1880s and advocated for marriage based on individual choice, and young peasant girls who worked in silk factories and as nursemaids (*komori*) in many villages expressed their discontentment over their working conditions through their songs.[152]

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[149] Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*, 192.

[150] TU to AL, 7 December 1882, 23 May 1883, TJDA.

[151] For example, Elizabeth Poorbaugh, an American teacher at the Miyagi Jogakkō founded in 1886, commented on the "poverty and degradation" of the women in Miyagi who lacked not only the "necessities of a physical life," but also spiritual and intellectual strength. Elizabeth Poorbaugh to the Mission Board, 25 October 1886, reprinted in Mensendiek, *The Dream Incarnate*, 26. Also see Poorbaugh to the Mission Board, 21 August 1886, in Mensendiek, *The Dream Incarnate*, 20.

[152] Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 17, 19-20; Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 114; Tamanoi, "Songs As Weapons," 794-817; E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990). On the tradition of women's involvement in protest movements beginning in the Tokugawa period, see Anne Walthall, "Devoted wives/unruly women: invisible presence in the history of Japanese social protest," *Signs* 20, no.1 (1994): 106-36.

Beginning in the late 1890s, Tsuda publicly urged women to reject the essentialist discourse that defined them as mentally incapable of higher pursuits.[153] She encouraged them to prove "themselves capable of greater things," not to be contented with "the position of mental inferiority," and to disregard vanity, pettiness, and narrow-mindedness, which were supposed to be "woman's [inherent] characteristics."[154] Her arguments countered those that discouraged women from pursuing higher education because they were physically and mentally unfit for the "new education and work they were seeking."[155] In this sense, Tsuda continued the efforts of Fukuzawa and Iwamoto, and of women like Kishida Toshiko who criticized in the 1880s those who contended that women were intellectually inferior to men.[156] Tsuda's, as well as Kishida's, exhortations to women are important because for a woman to overcome her "internalized sense of inferiority and empower herself to do what was unseemly" is crucial to the development of feminist consciousness.[157]

A comparison of Tsuda's views in the 1880s with her public pronouncements beginning in the 1890s reveals her shifting rhetorical strategy for women's education. In her private letters to Adeline Lanman in the 1880s she stressed the importance of educating women mainly for their own good. In contrast, Tsuda's writings and public pronouncements in the late 1890s and early 1900s linked women's education to the family and the nation.[158] For example, in an article published in *The Far East* in 1897, she declared, "[w]ithout culture, education, and experience, women can only share the lowest side of a man's life and must indeed fall short of the ideal wife and mother."[159] "The loss in this," she continued, "is not only for women themselves, but for their husbands and for the future generations." Herein we see how Tsuda extended the individual benefits of education to the family and the nation.[160] Furthermore, in a speech she delivered during the third graduation ceremony in her school in 1905 she linked the country's military victory to women's education by presenting educated womanhood as crucial to Japan's assumption of its "new place" in the world order.[161] This was during the time when Japan was basking in its huge military victory against the Russians in Port Arthur and at Mukden.[162]

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[153] Tsuda, "Anniversary Number of the *Alumnae* Report of the Joshi Eigaku Juku," 16 October 1910, reprinted in *TUM*, 128.

[154] Tsuda, "Future of Japanese Women," *The Far East*, reprinted in *TUM*, 75-76; Tsuda, "Address given by the Principal [Tsuda] at the Graduation ceremony to the Class of 1909," *Alumnae Report of the Joshi-Eigaku-Juku* 5, June 1909, reprinted in *TUM*, 123; Tsuda, *Anniversary number of the Alumnae Report of the Joshi-Eigaku-Juku*, 16 October 1910, reprinted in *TUM*, 128.

[155] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," reprinted in *TUM*, 32.

[156] Kishida Toshiko, "Hakoiri musume" [Daughters Confined in Boxes], *Jiyū shimbun*, 20 November 1883; Kishida, "Dōhō shimai ni tsugu [To My Brothers and Sisters], *Jiyū no tomoshibi*, 18 May- 22June 1884, cited in Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, 39-40, 204n26.

[157] Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*, 192.

Tsuda's invocation of the familial and national welfare in her arguments for the education of women may be viewed, in part, as her attempt to negotiate between what Nancy Rosenberger calls the "front stage and backstage spaces," signified in Japan by

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[158] For example, Miwata Masako, a former faculty member of Japan Women's College and founder of the Miwata Girls' Higher School (1902), believed that women's primary responsibilities were to manage the home and educate their children. She wanted women to become the "wise mothers" of soldiers. Hastings, "Women Educators of the Meiji Era," 87.

[159] Tsuda, "The Future of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 73. Also see Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 31.

[160] Tsuda did not consider individual (a woman's), familial, and national interests as mutually exclusive. Tsuda, "Principal's Address to the Graduating Class of 1911," reprinted in *TUM*, 131.

[161] Tsuda, "Address at the 3rd Graduation Ceremony of the Joshi Eigaku Juku," April 1905, reprinted in *TUM*, 108-109. Related to this is the American notion of "republican motherhood," which premised the political importance of women on their role as mothers and educators of patriotic children and future citizens. On republican motherhood, see Linda K. Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 41-62.

[162] Referring to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century arguments on French feminism, Anne Cova similarly notes feminist Maria Deraismes' strategic use of widespread "depopulation fears" to support the rights of mothers. Deraismes called for the repel of article 340 of the Napoleonic Civil Code (1804) by arguing that the prohibition of the investigation of paternity of out-of-wedlock children as provided for in this article was a major cause of the declining French population. Anne Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity: Theories and Policies, 1890-1918," in *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare State, 1880s-1950s*, eds. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (New York: Routledge, 1991), 120.

omote/ura (front/back).[163] Ever conscious of what she considered as her debt to the government and the difficulties someone of her gender and with her views faced in Japan, Tsuda underscored the potential contribution of educated wives and mothers to the family and the nation. This could potentially allay the concerns of those who feared "too much" education of women.[164] Riding the rising tide of the *ryôsai kenbo* rhetoric in the 1890s, Tsuda made reference to women's domestic roles as rhetorical strategy intended to bolster her argument that women must be educated. By highlighting the vital contribution of educated women to the family and to the nation, she countered the notion that they were self-centered and therefore unworthy of their education.

Like Iwamoto, Tsuda's reference to women's roles as wives and mothers did not signal her view of women as inferior to men. Her ideal for women was for them to take their place as "true helpmate and equal of men." She made this statement in a speech she delivered as Japanese representative to the fourth international convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Denver, Colorado in June 1898.[165] Furthermore, unlike the Education Ministry officials' ideal mother who brought up healthy children, Tsuda's ideal mother taught Christian values to her children. Also, the ideal wife portrayed in the government's standard school curricula managed her home efficiently, but Tsuda's ideal was someone who did not merely attend to the needs of her husband. Tsuda promoted the American ideal of companionate marriage, urging wives to have "a little more important part in the doings of a house," besides feeding and providing for the needs of men, and to converse and have more interaction with them.[166]

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[163] Nancy Rosenberger, *Gambling with Virtue: Japanese Women and the Search for Self in a Changing Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 2-3.

[164] TU to AL, 5 December 1887, TJDA.

[165] While Tsuda was teaching at the Peeresses' School, she and her co-teacher Fudeko Watanabe were sent presumably by the Meiji government as Japanese representatives to this convention. Tsuda got a five-month leave from the school. The General Federation of Women's Clubs consisted of twenty-seven hundred clubs with 160,000 members. Furuki, *The White Plum*, 91-93.

Tsuda suggested that women could contribute to the nation through their roles as wives and mothers, but she did not premise women's contribution to the state solely on their performance of domestic duties. Rather, women should strive to do their best in "whatever line of life, high or lowly" that they would be "worthy to be named women of the same nation as those devoted [male] patriots, whose blood has been so gloriously shed for the country's cause far off on the plains of Manchuria." [167] Tsuda invoked a sacred image to urge women to higher aspirations and contributions, not necessarily limited to home management and childcare.[168] Furthermore, she stressed the practical application of learning, rather than just women's duties at home, suggesting that women's contribution in whatever field was equally important to the highest contribution a man could make – dying on the battlefield. The equal valuation given to women's contribution as mothers and to those of the soldiers in the battlefield was an effective rhetorical strategy employed by feminists in other countries as they sought for women's rights. After all, as political theorist Carole Pateman explains, a soldier's death on the battlefield is the "ultimate test of allegiance of the citizens and the ultimate duty of a citizen."[169] At around the same time when Tsuda was making this statement, French feminist Hubertine Auclert similarly invoked the equal value of women's contributions as mothers and those of the soldiers in the battlefield in order to claim protection for mothers.[170]

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[166] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 28-32; Tsuda, "New Japanese Woman: Her Position Always Secure," *The Chicago Record*, 10 March 1897, TJDA.

[167] Tsuda, "Address at the 3rd graduation ceremony of the Joshi Eigaku Juku," reprinted in *TUM*, 109.

[168] Many thanks to Prof. Ryan Dunch for sharing his views on this.

[169] Carole Pateman, "Equality, difference, subordination: The Politics of Motherhood and Women's Citizenship," in *Beyond Equality and Difference: Citizenship, Feminist Politics, and Female Subjectivity*, eds. Gisela Bock and Susan James (London: Routledge, 1992), 23.

How Women Should Be Educated

An examination of Tsuda's two projects, the American Women Scholarship for Japanese Women and the Joshi Eigaku Juku (English School for Girls, currently Tsuda-juku Daigaku or Tsuda College), reveals her prescribed ways to educate women and the roles she deemed appropriate for educated women in Japan.[171] Such an investigation also shows the importance of American and Japanese support to Tsuda's initiatives for women's education.

American Women Scholarship for Japanese Women

From 1889 to 1892, while Tsuda was on a study leave at the Kazoku Jogakkô and with a government grant to study at Bryn Mawr College, she solicited the help of American women and launched the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women (hereafter American Scholarship) in August 1891. With a principal endowment of $8,000 the scholarship was to send one Japanese woman every six years to American schools like the Bryn Mawr College, the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia, and the Drexel Institute.[172] The recipient would be chosen through a competitive examination administered throughout Japan. However, the requirements for the candidates to be fluent in English and for the successful applicant to pay her passage and other expenses, such as clothing, limited the number of applicants.[173]

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[170] Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity," 120.

[171] The Joshi Eigaku Juku was renamed Tsuda Eigaku Juku in 1933, then Tsuda Juku Senmon Gakkô, and then Tsuda Juku Daigaku or Tsuda College in 1948.

[172] In 1892, the Philadelphia Committee collected more than $ 4, 000 in subscriptions and nearly $ 1, 500 from other donors. The principal amount of $ 8, 000 was insufficient because its projected yearly interest of $ 400 covered only the scholar's tuition and boarding fees for eight months. Tsuda appealed to the American Committee in 1907 to increase the principal endowment to $ 10, 000, which would mean an increase of $100 that could potentially cover the student's personal expenses. Mary Haines, secretary of the American Committee, also noted that the $400 did not cover emergencies. Scholars like Matsuda Michi, in fact, worried about their expenses. Tsuda Umeko to Mrs. Morris [hereafter Tsuda to Morris], 1907; Mary Haines to Tsuda Umeko [hereafter Haines to Tsuda], 14 September 1893, TJDA; Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 94. On the problems encountered by the scholars and the committees in the United States and Japan, see Louise Ward Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies: The American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women," *The Journal of American and Canadian Studies* 4 (Autumn 1989): 19-22.

The scholarship's three-fold objectives, which were to provide "collegiate education and fitting teachers, medical education and industrial education," illuminate Tsuda's visions of women's social roles in the 1890s. They were not, as Rose contends, "bound by conventions of domesticity."[174] They went well beyond the domestic realm. Tsuda was open to the idea of women being engaged in teaching, medical, or industrial work.[175] She was also amenable to other areas of study approved by the American Scholarship Committee (also known as the Philadelphia Committee) headed by Mary Morris, a prominent Quaker from Philadelphia. Tsuda met Morris when she first went to the United States in the 1870s.

From the 1890s until 1976, the American Scholarship had twenty-five recipients, including two Japanese Americans who received it in 1942 and 1943. Scholars devoted themselves not only to academic pursuits, but also to Christian work and other related activities intended to contribute to their spiritual growth. Uchida Fumi, for example, volunteered at the YWCA at Canton, Pennsylvania in the summer of 1918. This helped Uchida develop "both spiritually and mentally as the Japanese and Americans would wish."[176] Most of the scholars studied at Bryn Mawr College and they returned to Japan to teach English in various educational institutions, such as the Joshi Eigaku Juku, private

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[173] In 1904, Tsuda proposed to the committee in the United States to choose the scholar from her school or from "among the friends of the Committee in Japan." Her proposal was disapproved because the American committee members wanted every girl in Japan to have equal opportunity to compete for the scholarship. Haines to Tsuda, 12 December 1904, TJDA. However, the examination was waived for Kawai Michi, the second recipient of the scholarship and a protégée of Japanese committee member Nitobe, and for the third recipient, Suzuki Utako. Kawai, *My Lantern*, 63; Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies," 21-22. On the examination and other requirements of the scholarship, see Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies," 18-19; Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 97-98.

[174] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 7.

[175] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," reprinted in *TUM*, 28-32.

[176] Haines to Tsuda, 7 March 1918, Cheltenham, Pennsylvania, TJDA.

Christian schools like the Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku, and government schools like the Tokyo Joshi Kôtô Shihan Gakkô.[177]

The American Scholarship was integral to Tsuda's second major project for Japanese women, the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Through the scholarship, she ensured the availability of U.S.-trained teachers who would later constitute the backbone of her school. Taking into consideration the needs of her school, she advised the scholars on their area of study and their field of work – advice that sometimes met some resistance. For example, under Tsuda's prodding, Kawashima Yoshi studied Household Economics at Simmons College in Boston in 1907. Tsuda regarded this as necessary training for Kawashima whom she wanted to manage the new dormitory at the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Kawashima, however, initially refused to commit herself to this kind of work because she felt she was not ready and adequately trained for this huge responsibility. Notwithstanding her early refusal, Kawashima eventually taught household economics at the Joshi Eigaku Juku in 1909.[178]

American and Japanese contributions were vital to the success of the American Scholarship. While Tsuda was studying at Bryn Mawr College, she visited potential donors and made speeches in Philadelphia and Boston.[179] Aside from these places, other donors were from New York, Maryland, and other parts of Pennsylvania.[180] Most of them were Quaker, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian women, and Tsuda appealed to their desire to spread Christianity and higher education to women in foreign countries like Japan.[181] As with the American women missionaries who sought financial help for their scholars and schools in Japan, Tsuda solicited support for the scholarship by invoking the rhetoric of Christian duty and assumed the superiority of Christian American culture.[182] Speaking to a gathering of Christian women in Philadelphia in August 1891, she suggested that their efforts to help educate Japanese women would go a long way. The recipients of the American scholarship would form a group of educated Christian women who would show the Japanese people the "benefits of a Christian civilization." Also appealing to American women's desire to spread higher education to women in foreign countries, she persuasively argued that the scholarship would serve "as a free gift from American ladies, to show the interest. . . . and the high value they attached to education.[183]

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[177] On background information of the scholars, see Uchida Michiko, "Mary H. Morris shôgakukin: nihon no josei ni Umeko to onaji kikai o" [Mary H. Morris Scholarship: Giving the Women of Japan the Same Opportunity that Umeko Had], in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito* [The People Who Supported Tsuda Umeko], eds. Iino Masako, Kameda Kinuko, and Takahashi Yûko (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2000), 200-01. Also see Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies," 24-25.

[178] Kawashima Yoshi to Tsuda Umeko, 6 May, 6 June, 12 July, and 14 October 1907, TJDA.

[179] Tsuda delivered a speech, "The Education of Japanese Women," in Philadelphia in August 1891, TJDA. She also spoke during the regular meeting of the Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women in Boston.

[180] See D.B. Coleman to Miss Tsuda, 14 July 1892, Pennsylvania; Sully Curter to Miss Coles, 9 February 1891, St. Timothy's School, Catonsville, Maryland, TJDA.

Support for the scholarship came from various groups and individuals in the United States and Japan. Bryn Mawr College students raised funds for the scholarship. Bryn Mawr College Dean M. Carey Thomas worked with the scholarship committee, helped write Tsuda's speeches to potential donors, and supervised the scholars.[184] Also, there were American men who donated money to the scholarship.[185] In Japan, prominent male Christian educators like Iwamoto supported the scholarship. He was a member of the Japanese committee for the American Scholarship, and he helped raise funds for the scholars' expenses in the United States.[186]

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[181] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 26. On the background of Tsuda's major women supporters, see Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies," 1-35.

[182] Eder, *Constructing Opportunities*, 106.

[183] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 26-27.

[184] Also, in 1892 Bryn Mawr College students contributed $184.00 to the American Scholarship. Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies," 7, 15; Anna Hartshorne to Tsuda [hereafter Hartshorne to Tsuda], 29 December 1908, TJDA.

[185] "Report of the Committee of the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women," 1892, TJDA.

[186] Hartshorne to Tsuda, 4 October 1898; Tsuda to Iwamoto, 3 March 1890, TJDA.

Joshi Eigaku Juku

On September 14, 1900, two months after Tsuda resigned from the Kazoku Jogakkô, she opened her school, Joshi Eigaku Juku, in an old rented house located at Ichiban-chô, Kojimachi in Tokyo. Her bold move relied greatly on the promise of her American friends to pay the rent of the school. She also drew on her observations of how women's colleges were administered in the United States and England.[187] The school started with fifteen students. Tsuda served as the director, Yamakawa Sutematsu as advisor, and Alice Bacon and two other Japanese as teachers.

The Joshi Eigaku Juku aimed to provide Japanese women with "broader foundations and a liberal education" far beyond what they were getting at the time.[188] In 1898, there were thirty-three public and private girls' high schools in Japan with a total enrollment of eight thousand and with 896 graduates. Unlike men who could enter the two Imperial universities in Tokyo and Kyoto, those women who could afford to get higher education had nowhere to go except to the Joshi Kôtô Shihan Gakkô (Higher Normal School for Women) and the Music Academy in Tokyo.[189]

More specifically, the Joshi Eigaku Juku gave a select number of girls and women opportunity to pursue a three-year education beyond the secondary level.[190] Students were chosen through a rigorous entrance examination open to those who finished high school.[191] Drawing on Tsuda's experience at Bryn Mawr College and from the girls' schools in Washington, she explained during the opening ceremony of her school that a small class size would ensure the best training for each student. Lack of facilities prevented her from expanding the student population in 1907 when only forty-one out of a hundred applicants were accepted. In the spring of 1907, the Joshi Eigaku Juku had a total of 170 students and 20 teachers.[192]

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[187] Aside from Tsuda's observations of how Bryn Mawr College was administered, she also spent a term at Oswego Teachers College in 1891 to study teaching methods. In November 1898, she went to England and visited several schools for girls. She also observed teaching methods and management styles at Queen's College, Cambridge, and Oxford. Tsuda, "Journals in London," 17, 18, 21, 28 November 1898, in *TUM*, 265-67, 269, 274.

[188] Tsuda, "The Future of Japanese Women,"reprinted in *TUM*, 73.

[189] Kikuchi Dairoku, *Japanese Education: Lectures Delivered in the University of London* (London: John Murray, 1909), 280. Another Higher Normal School for Women opened in Nara in 1908.

[190] TU to AL, 12 August 1883, TJDA.

[191] Mishima Sumie, for example, prepared under the guidance of her mother's friend for three months. Mishima Sumie,

At the turn of the twentieth century, it was no easy feat for a thirty-six-year-old single woman to establish in Japan a school that would train women in English language instruction. Although the government had promoted co-education since 1872, the atmosphere during the late Meiji period was not fully welcoming of the idea of providing women with higher education. Many parents remained skeptical of the benefits of giving post-secondary education to their daughters.[193] Japanese newspapers, in fact, presented competing views on the kind of education that should be provided to girls and women, and how far they should be educated. The *Waseda Bungaku*, for example, denounced the idea of giving similar education to men and women. It also rejected the idea of providing women with an education that focused on the "intellectual side of life" rather than on moral training.[194] A writer in another newspaper, the *Chûô kôron*, considered high schools as impractical for girls.[195] In contrast, the *Jogaku zasshi* declared that the university should open its gate to women, and allow men and women to study together. The standard of female higher education (*joshi kôtô jôgakko*), the *Jogaku zasshi* further noted, was "higher only in comparison with the primary education" of girls, but not with

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My Narrow Isle: The Story of a Modern Woman in Japan (Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1941), 37, 58.

[192] Tsuda, "Resume of a Talk Given by Miss Tsuda," *Shin eigo* 12, October 1900, 1-3, TJDA; Tsuda, "Teaching in Japan," in *TUM*, 98; Yamazaki, "Ume Tsuda," 135.

[193] Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 126.

[194] W.E. Hoy, comp., "Japanese Thoughts on Woman's Education," *The Japan Evangelist* IV, no. 7, April 1897, 214.

[195] "Joshi kyôiku no kekkan," *Chûô kôron*, January 1903, 180-81, cited in Muta Kazue, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals: The Paradox Underlying the Emergence of the "Home," trans. Marcella S. Gregory, *Nichi-Bei josei janaru* 7 (*U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*), English supplement (1994): 66, 71n76.

its supposed equivalent, the boys' middle school.[196] Against the backdrop of diverse opinions on the education of women, Tsuda kept her plan to open a school a secret at first. She most likely wanted to avoid criticisms of her plan to build the first private school for women's higher learning and feared that it might jeopardize her teaching position at the Kazoku Jogakkô. She resigned from the Kazoku Jogakkô only two months prior to the opening of the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Some of her Japanese friends considered her action foolish, but it was only then that she felt "free," having gotten away from "all the conservatism and conventions" in her life. "Unhampered by officialdom," she could now, in her words, "take my stand for what is right and true."[197]

Since the late 1880s, Tsuda already alluded to the difficulty that someone of her gender and with her views faced in Japan. "Japan has not made up its mind yet, whether women may have the same freedom as men," she wrote to Adeline Lanman. "She is trying," she explained, "to find flaws in all who [have] gone ahead of time."[198] It was difficult for her to gain Japanese support for her projects for women's education. Wakamatsu Shizuko, Iwamoto's wife, seemed to be referring to Tsuda when she noted in her 1894 article that a "well-known lady" in Japan, who was educated in the United States, "was heard to complain in one occasion that in America friends always combined to develop and enlarge any one of her enterprises. . . . while in her own country cold water is invariably thrown upon whatever she attempts to do."[199] Furthermore, Tsuda's articles on Japanese women published in the United States also attracted criticisms in

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[196] Hoy, "Japanese Thoughts on Woman's Education," 216.
[197] Tsuda to Miss Kirk, 6 August 1900, reprinted in Yamazaki, "Tsuda Ume," 125-26.
[198] TU to AL, 5 December 1887, TJDA.
[199] Wakamatsu Shizuko, "Thinking of our Sisters Beyond the Great Ocean," June 1894, reprinted in *In Memory of Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto*, ed. Iwamoto Yoshiharu (Tokyo: The Yokohama Seishi Bunsha, 1896), 7-8.

Japan.[200] In addition, Tsuda and Sutematsu noted the "conservatism," especially at the Kazoku Jogakko.[201] It was most likely due to Tsuda's desire to avoid negative comments in Japan and her concerns about her teaching position that she opted not to appear as co-author with Alice Bacon of the book *Japanese Girls and Women*, published in the United States in 1891.[202] Tsuda certainly realized the importance of treading carefully amidst government regulations and public cynicism regarding the higher education of women.

Facing some serious logistical problems, Tsuda forged valuable links in the United States and Japan in order to ensure the establishment and continued operation of her school. She drew on the contacts she had through her more than ten years of living in the United States and through her education at Bryn Mawr College. She sought the help of mostly the same group of women who supported the American Scholarship. Mary Morris, who previously chaired the committee for the American Scholarship, also headed the "American Committee on Behalf of Miss Tsuda's School." Bryn Mawr College students raised funds for the school, as they did with the scholarship.[203] Alice Bacon and Anna Hartshorne, Tsuda's classmate at Bryn Mawr, advised Tsuda. They also raised funds and went to Japan to teach for free at the Joshi Eigaku Juku.[204] American men like William Elliot Griffis, who taught in Japan in 1870, donated books to the Joshi Eigaku Juku.[205]

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[200] Tsuda read about the criticism of a Tokyo newspaper's review of her article published in an American magazine, *The Far East*, in 1897. TU to AL, 24 April 1898, TJDA. Aside from Tsuda's publications in the U.S., she also published in Japan. For example, her article in the *Jogaku zasshi* summarizes the developments in women's higher education in North America and many countries in Europe. Implicit in this article was the question why women in Japan, unlike those in the west, were not encouraged to pursue higher education. Tsuda, "Ôbei joshi kôtô kyôiku no kinjô" [Recent Report of Western Female Higher Education], *Jogaku zasshi* 351, 19 August 1893.

[201] Yamakawa to Bacon and Tsuda, 6 August 1891, TJDA.

[202] Instead, in the book's preface, Bacon acknowledged Tsuda's valuable contributions and the time she invested in the book despite her busy schedule at Bryn Mawr College. Alice Mabel Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1891), x. The book's main argument that the Japanese society needed reform through women's education and Christianity was certainly similar with Tsuda's view. Tsuda Sen was also concerned about what the Japanese would think about the book. Sutematsu, however, thought that it would not compromise Tsuda's position because it was not prejudiced at all and it left out the bad attitudes, such as pettiness and envy that should go with the best qualities of Japanese women. Ôyama to Bacon and Tsuda, 6 August 1891, TJDA.

[203] In December 1908 sales at the Bryn Mawr College Tea Room and the College Club raised $ 312.00 for the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Hartshorne to Tsuda, 29 December 1908, TJDA.

Interests in promoting women's education and in spreading Christianity were the common thread that bound Tsuda and her supporters in Japan, as in the United States. The *Gaiyukai*, a club composed of around thirty Japanese women who had lived and studied abroad, donated money to buy land for the school.[206] Prominent Christian educators like Nitobe Inazô provided valuable advice. He also served as a member of the board of directors of the Joshi Eigaku Juku.[207] Tsuda's close friends, Sutematsu and Shige, encouraged her and raised funds for the school.[208]

The closure of other private schools for Japanese women underscores the crucial role of American and Japanese contributions to the Joshi Eigaku Juku. For example, Ogashima Fudeko's Seishu Jogakkô (Ladies Institute) closed because the Catholic mission ended its financial support.[209] In Tsuda's school, the government-regulated tuition fee of ten yen (around $5) per term could hardly pay for the teachers' salaries and food. The purchase of necessary and huge expenses, such as land, buildings, and school equipment, were highly dependent on donations. Tsuda acknowledged and was deeply appreciative of the contribution, especially from the United States, but she ensured that the school remained a "Japanese undertaking" and she had control of the direction in which it should go.[210]

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[204] Back in the United States in 1908, Hartshorne collected $10.00 from her talk for Tsuda's school. Alice Bacon taught for free during her first two years at the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Ibid.; Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 197; Furuki, *The White Plum*, 124; Hartshorne, "The Years of Preparation," 512-17. On the role of Anna Hartshorne, see Kameda Kinuko, "Anna Cupp Hartshorne," in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito* [The People Who Supported Tsuda Umeko], eds. Iino Masako, Kameda Kinuko, and Takahashi Yûko (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2000), 124-46. On the role of Alice Bacon, see Takahashi, "Alice Bacon to Ôyama Sutematsu," in *Tsuda Umeko o sasaeta hitobito* [The People Who Supported Tsuda Umeko], eds. Iino Masako, Kameda Kinuko, and Takahashi Yûko (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 2000), 50-67.

[205] William Elliot Griffis, Letter to Tsuda Umeko, 26 June 1913, Glen Place, Ithaca, New York, 11 August 1916, 5 May 1917, 18 December 1920, TJDA.

[206] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 108.

[207] On the collaborative relationship between Tsuda and Nitobe, see Takahashi Yûko, "Umeko Tsuda and Inazô Nitobe: Internationalization and Their Impact on Education," paper presented at the Japan Studies Association of Canada Conference, Victoria, British Columbia, 16 October 2004.

[208] Through Sutematsu's efforts, the Vassar class of 1882 donated $ 50.00 for the purchase of teachers' desks and classroom chairs at the Joshi Eigaku Juku. In 1906, Sutematsu chaired a fund-raising committee that raised 15, 000 yen for additional school improvement.

[209] Tsuda tried to solicit help from an American, Mrs. A. T. Twing, to help pay for a house and lot for Ogashima's school. Tsuda to Mrs. Twing, 7 September 1896, reprinted in *TUM*, 64-69.

Promoting a liberal education for women

Tsuda's idea of a liberal education aimed to train women for gainful employment and to inculcate in them the values of critical thinking and independent action. It was also an instrument for character building and moral transformation. Such goals were shaped by Tsuda's Christian ideals and her experience studying at liberal schools like the Bryn Mawr College. Also, her teaching experience at the Meiji Jogakkô, with its "tradition of a liberal education based on Christian ethics," must have convinced her of the usefulness of such an approach for women's education.[211]

English language was a major component of what Tsuda considered to be appropriate liberal education for women. Although English was taught in public girls' high schools in Japan, she believed the amount and quality of teaching was insufficient. Joshi Eigaku Juku graduate Iwase Kin, who taught English at a public girls' high school in Utsunomiya in 1904, confirmed Tsuda's observation. The teaching method in this school, Iwase related, was impractical and discouraged students from thinking for themselves. In her third- and fourth-year class of about 200 girls, she noted that the students knew the "hard words" from the book, but were unfamiliar with words useful for everyday conversation. Iwase attributed this problem to the teaching style of the previous teacher who explained to her that the goal of the school is "not to make the students speak freely, but to let them read and understand English, so translation and reading are enough for them as they have so little time."[212]

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[210] In 1902, after Tsuda and the members of the American committee agreed on the creation of a Board of Trustees, Tsuda insisted that the American member of the Board should be a resident of Japan, preferably Alice Bacon and Anna Hartshorne. She also requested that after five years, the Board should be allowed to become "self-perpetuating," explaining that having an American member would create an "unfavorable impression in Japan." Tsuda to Morris, 31 December 1902. On the nature, extent, and dynamics of the relationship between Tsuda and the Americans and Japanese who supported her education projects, see Febe Pamonag, ""Where are the teachers who are to train and help the eager students?': Tsuda Umeko and Those who Supported Women's Education in Meiji Japan," Paper presented at the Conference of the East Asian Council of Canadian Asian Studies Association - Japan Studies Association of Canada, University of Alberta, 2 October 2005.

[211] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan*, 100.

The Joshi Eigaku Juku curriculum focused on English conversation and translation, as well as methods of teaching and pedagogy.[213] The emphasis for the first year was on reading, grammar, spelling, and conversation, and for the second year, translation, English conversation and composition, English literature, psychology, and pedagogy. The third and final year focused on English literature, English composition, history of English literature, teaching methods of the English language, and translation.[214] Compared with the Higher Normal School for Women, Joshi Eigaku Juku's curriculum placed more importance on English language instruction. In fact, Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980), who entered the Joshi Eigaku Juku in 1908, was unhappy over what she regarded as the lack of scholarly challenges at the Joshi Eigaku Juku and the school's over emphasis on English-language instruction.[215] Nonetheless, conspicuously absent in the early school curriculum of the Joshi Eigaku Juku were lessons in home management and childcare, the foundation of the *ryōsai kenbo* education propagated in government schools for girls and women, including the Higher Normal School for Women in Tokyo. In 1909 Kawashima Yoshi, recipient of the American Women Scholarship who studied domestic science (*kaseigaku*) at Simmons College in Boston, taught domestic science course (*kaseika*) at the Joshi Eigaku Juku, including the ways to cook and to set the table based in the western style.[216] The inclusion of this course was most likely part of the adjustment that Tsuda had to make as a result of the Joshi Eigaku Juku being recognized by the government in 1904 as a vocational school (*senmon gakkô*). It was the highest rank a women's private school could attain at the time, although it was well below the university level.[217]

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[212] Iwase Kin to Tsuda, 4 December 1904, TJDA.

[213] During the school opening, courses for the first-and second-year students included grammar (*bunpō*), composition (*sakubun*), Chinese classical literature (*kanbun*), English literature (*eibungaku*), reading (*yomikata*), translation (*honyaku*), history (*rekishi*), and discussion of current events (*jiji mondō*). "Kaikōji no jikanwari" [Schedule During the School's Opening], in *Tsuda-juku Daigaku: Tsuda Umeko to juku no 90 nen* [Tsuda Umeko and Tsuda College: 1900-19990], ed. Tsuda-juku Daigaku (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku Daigaku, 1990), 28.

[214] Takahashi, "Umeko Tsuda," 201.

[215] E. Patricia Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 18 (2000): 13.

Tsuda did not aim to duplicate at the Joshi Eigaku Juku the thrust of higher education for men. Courses at the exclusively male Imperial University in Tokyo included politics, medicine, pharmacy, civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering, naval architecture, mining and metallurgy – fields of knowledge deemed necessary for an industrializing and rising military power like Japan.[218] Despite the difference between the emphasis of the Joshi Eigaku Juku and that of the Imperial University in Tokyo, Tsuda ensured that her school's academic standard was comparable to top men's schools in the country. She invited male lecturers from the Imperial University in Tokyo, the Higher Normal School (for men), the Peers' School, and the Tokyo Foreign Language School to talk about subjects outside of her students' regular study.[219] The Joshi Eigaku Juku became known for its high quality of English language teaching. Premier teaching institutions like the Tokyo Normal School for Men regularly sent its instructors and students to observe language instructions at Tsuda's school.[220]

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[216] Tsuda-juku Daigaku, ed., *Tsuda juku Daigaku: Tsuda Umeko to juku no 90 nen*, 41.
[217] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 138.
[218] Monbushô, *Outlines of the Modern Education in Japan* (Tokyo: Department of Education, 1893), 112-20.
[219] Tsuda to the Philadelphia and New York Committees of Miss Tsuda School, 11 January 1912, in *TUM*, 416.

Perhaps in an effort to raise the quality of teaching at the Joshi Eigaku Juku, Tsuda was a strict teacher. She was never satisfied until students correctly pronounced the English words and found the right words in their translations.[221] Also, she had a reputation of being unrelenting in her criticisms of the students' English compositions.[222] Her emphasis on the importance of the English language and of studying in general was so deeply inculcated in her students' minds that five years after Nagai Sue graduated, she apologized to Tsuda for her lack of time to study and improve her English.[223]

The Joshi Eigaku Juku's strong emphasis on the English language was intended to train women so they could compete and become eligible to teach this language. Unlike Tsuda's school, other private schools for women founded around the time, such as Shimoda Utako's Jissen Jogakkô established in 1899 and Naruse Jinzô's Nihon Joshi Daigaku built in 1901, were known for educating women following the *ryôsai kenbo* ideal.[224] Oku Mumeo (1895-1997), who enrolled at the Department of Home Economics at Nihon Joshi Daigaku in 1912, related that the school curriculum was designed to train women as teachers, and as good wives and wise mothers.[225] As for Tsuda, she ensured the acceptance of her school and of the social role she endorsed for women not by creating an entirely new occupation, but by choosing a field that was already officially open to them. The Meiji government had established normal schools that trained women teachers, and there were women teachers during the Tokugawa period.[226] Furthermore, Tsuda's view of women's work, like those of other Meiji feminists, was influenced by the "dominant constructions of class and gender" during this period.[227] She regarded teaching as a legitimate career for "intelligent middle-class women," who, she believed, had few chances of finding work. In contrast, she maintained that those from the lower class had numerous opportunities to support themselves and their families, such as picking and preparing tea, preparing seaweed, diving in the sea, making paper and umbrellas, producing porcelain, and working as telegraph operators.[228]

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[220] The presence of many young men in a small all-women classroom was at times embarrassing to the female students. In 1906, Tsuda requested that the number of visiting male students be limited to no more than twenty-five at a time. Tsuda, "Teaching in Japan," in *TUM*, 97.

[221] Yamakawa Kikue, "Meiji no suegoro" [Around the End of the Meiji Era], in *Tsuda Eigaku juku yonjunenshi* [Forty Years of Tsuda College], ed. Tsuda Eigaku Juku (Tokyo: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, 1941), 478. Not surprisingly, Joshi Eigaku Juku students gained the reputation of being good English speakers. For example, when Ôba Minako, a graduate of the school, went to the United States, she was praised for her "good English." Ôba, *Tsuda Umeko*, 234

[222] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 63.

[223] Nagai Sue to Tsuda, 10 March 1911, San Francisco, TJDA.

[224] A notable exception was Yoshioka Yayoi's Tokyo Women's Medical School established in 1900. This was the predecessor of the Tokyo Women's Medical University. Meanwhile, at the Nihon Joshi Daigaku, math and science were taught to students, but the school curriculum placed more emphasis on Japanese etiquette, flower arrangement, and tea ceremony. No "prizes" were given to students because "knowledge and not vanity is sought" in the school. This view resonated with the common argument against women's education – that it would make them proud and ambitious. Maynard Owen Williams, "Higher Educating the Womanhood of Japan," *The Christian Herald*, 7 March 1917, TJDA.

The Joshi Eigaku Juku broadened the prospects of women teachers beyond elementary teaching, although they continued to be kept out of the normal schools for men and men's universities.[229] Tsuda chose the preparation for the government examination for English teaching certificate as a major goal of her school. Acquiring this government certificate meant a professional upgrade for women teachers because it allowed them to teach above the elementary school, such as in the girls' higher schools or the ordinary normal schools. The Higher Normal School for Women in Tokyo, the highest-level institution that trained many of the teachers and directors of the prefectural normal schools, had no English Department that could prepare their graduates for such an examination.[230] Overall, only few women passed the examination.[231] The Joshi Eigaku Juku, therefore, provided much-need training for aspiring female English-language teachers.[232] In addition, in 1900 the Ministry of Education appointed Tsuda as a member of the Board of Examiners for English teaching certificate.[233] Also, beginning in 1905 Joshi Eigaku Juku graduates automatically received the license for teaching English.[234]

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[225] Oku Mumeo, "Watakushi no rirekisho" [My Personal History], in *Watakushi no rirekisho* 6 (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shimbunsha, 1967), 204-05, cited in Tokuza Akiko, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1999), 96, 104n24.

[226] Tocco, "Female education in practice," 204-05.

[227] Fukuda Hideko (1865-1927) argued for women's economic independence mainly through their labor in sewing or handicrafts – potential export products. Fukuda Hideko, *Warawa no hanseigai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunkô, 1958), 94-95, cited in Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 8, 173n34.

[228] Tsuda, "Industry," 1897, TJDA.

[229] It would be seventy years later, in 1979, when Tokyo University (formerly the Imperial University in Tokyo) would have its first woman professor, Nakane Chie (1926-). She was a graduate of Tsuda's school and one of the first female graduates of Tokyo University. Until 2002, Nakane was the first and only woman member of the prestigious Japan Academy, whose elite membership was limited to those who have made "outstanding contributions to the advancement of science and learning," http://www.japan-acad.go.jp, accessed 28 July 2005.

Tsuda considered the teaching of the English language necessary because she believed it was a conduit to the "source of formative influence for the character of men and women of coming Japan."[235] In a speech she delivered in a teachers' conference in Japan in 1906, she argued that "laws are only a force from the outside but literature creates the spirit, the life, and the soul of a people."[236] Stories with moral values, in particular, were instrumental in transforming women's lives.[237] They were also necessary for the role that she endorsed for educated women – as instruments for the elevation of the "morals of society." Tsuda strengthened her argument that linked English-language literature to character formation by invoking the name of prominent male Christian educator Nitobe Inazô, whose work, she stressed, was in the same direction as hers.[238] Knowledge of English, she further maintained, would enable Japanese girls and women to access the "immensely broadening and inspiring English literature," including songs, poems, and children's stories. Thus, for Tsuda, English was not only an instrument for character building, but also a key to the "world of Western thought" normally accessible only to educated men.[239]

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[230] Anna C. Hartshorne, "The Years of Preparation: A Memory of Miss Tsuda," *Alumnae Report*, July 1930, reprinted in *TUM*, 515.

[231] A preliminary examination was first conducted at the prefectural level. Successful examinees from the prefectures were eligible to take the annual national examination for a teachers' license. In 1899, the result for foreign languages was reported to be poor. At the prefectural-level examination, only seven out of 104 applicants passed the English language examination. There were two applicants for the French language and both failed. The regulations for teaching middle, normal, and higher girls' schools were amended in 1900, allowing the graduates of foreign colleges or institutions of similar status, and those with at least one year experience teaching at a government school to acquire the license without taking the examination. "The Teachers' License," *The Japan Times*, 19 May 1899, 3; 6 June 1900, 2.

[232] With reference to Third Republic France, Jo Burr Mardagant shows similar problems faced by the female graduates of the normal schools around the 1830s. They were forced to study on their own or enroll in special courses at their own expense in order to prepare for the examination. This certificate qualified women for elementary teaching. Jo Burr Margadant, *Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 19. Many thanks to Prof. Pat Prestwich for lending me a copy of this book.

[233] Furuki, *The White Plum*, 105-06.

[234] Tsuda, "Teaching in Japan," in *TUM*, 95. In 1905 graduates of five private and one public school (their areas of specialization were uknown) were given this exemption, which was in recognition of the high standard of teaching in these schools. Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, 304.

[235] Tsuda, "The Future of Mission Schools for Girls," talk delivered in a meeting in Japan, 1905, TJDA.

[236] Tsuda, "Possibilities of English Literature in the Middle Schools," speech given in a teachers' conference in Japan, 1906, TJDA.

An examination of some English-language literature pieces for Joshi Eigaku Juku students during Tsuda's time reveals her focus on character training and providing strong role models for girls. She stressed the importance of moral values, not just academic rigor. She chose stories that were intended to inculcate the values of caring, generosity, honesty, and hard work – values that were endorsed by both Christian and non-Christian Japanese reformers.[240] The heroes and heroines of the stories were usually boys and girls from poor families, and orphans who were helped by other people. For example, in the "Little White Shoes," a generous Count helps Marcel, son of a poor Swiss hunter, to get his education so he can become a doctor and alleviate the people's suffering.[241] The "Judgment of the Cadi" was about a merchant, who falsely accused an orphaned Arab boy of stealing an emerald from his purse. Thus, one should "should not bear false witness."[242] Furthermore, there were stories that provide role models of determined and courageous girls who risked their lives for the greater good of the community. "Rebecca, the Drummer," celebrates the courage of an American girl who saved her village from the invading British soldiers.[243] In "The Little Duchess and the Lion-Tamer," Vera, a crippled Russian princess, teamed up with the lion-tamer in order to save the Grand Duke's life.[244]

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[237] TU to AL, 23 May 1883, TJDA; Tsuda, "Introductory," *Alumnae Report of the Joshi Eigaku Juku* 1, June 1905, in *TUM*, 106.

[238] Tsuda, "Future of Japanese Women," in *TUM*, 75-76; Tsuda, "The Future of Mission Schools for Girls," TJDA.

[239] Tsuda, "Teaching in Japan," in *TUM*, 96.

[240] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these values were widely promoted by the Tokugawa government in order to maintain the stability of the *ie* (household) and the Tokugawa *bakufu* (shogunate). Noriko Sugano, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety in Tokugawa Japan: Sons and Daughters in the Official Records of Filial Piety," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in PreModern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, Ja Hyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 170-89.

Although the Joshi Eigaku Juku was promoted in the United States as a Christian school, most likely in order to appeal to its Christian supporters, in Japan it was not officially categorized as a Christian or a mission school for strategic reasons.[245] In 1899, the Education Ministry prohibited the teaching of religion and the holding of religious services from all private schools recognized by the Ministry.[246] Given the government restrictions, Tsuda did not think it was wise to declare in the school constitution that it was a Christian institution. The constitution and by-laws, she explained to Mary Morris and the other members of the American Committee, should be carefully worded because it might affect the school's status and reputation in Japan.[247] At the Joshi Eigaku Juku, classes on the Bible and Bible study lessons were, therefore, made voluntary.[248] Alice Bacon taught students how to read the Bible and how to sing hymns. Kawai Michi led voluntary Bible study lessons.

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[241] Thanks to Marcel's skill, the prayer of the Count's young daughter to have her "little lame feet" cured was answered. "Little White Shoes," in Tsuda, *Easy English Stories Adopted for Students of English*, seventh ed. (Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Co., 1907), 1-10, TJDA. The story also appeared in the fifteenth edition of the book published in 1924.

[242] "The Judgment of the Cadi," in Tsuda, *Easy English Stories Adopted for Students of English*, 54-64, TJDA.

[243] "Rebecca, The Drummer," in Tsuda, *Easy English Stories Adopted for Students of English*, 72-75, TJDA.

[244] Fanny Lou Locke Mackenzie, "The Little Duchess," in Tsuda, *English Stories Selected for Japanese Students* (Tokyo: Bunbudo, 1901), TJDA.

[245] On Joshi Eigaku Juku advertisements that were circulated in the United States that describe the school as a Christian school, see Anna C. Hartshorne, "A Great Thing You Can Help Us To Do" and "Plans Formulated to Aid Japanese College," published by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 12 December 1924, reprinted in *Tsuda-juku Daigaku: Tsuda Umeko to juku no 90 Nen*, 48-49.

[246] "Presentation of the Petition for Religious Liberty in Private Schools," *The Japan* Times, 6 December 1899, 3.

[247] Tsuda to Morris, 16 April 1903, Motozono-chô,Tokyo, TJDA.

Nonetheless, determined to promote Christian values among her students at the Joshi Eigaku Juku, Tsuda declared reading materials that did not have "moral lessons" as unsuitable for the students. She prohibited the students from reading Tolstoy because his writings contained "dangerous thoughts."[249] In a speech she delivered in Karuizawa summer school in 1914, she also denounced Ellen Key's works that had reached Japan and were translated and made accessible to young girls as "extreme literature. . . . scum of European literature."[250] Tsuda's view was most likely a reaction to Hiratsuka Raichô's (1886-1942) translation and subsequent publication in the *Seitô* magazine in 1913 of Ellen Key's *Love and Marriage*.

Critical thinking and independent action, which were part of M. Carey Thomas' educational philosophy, were central to Tsuda's idea of liberal education.[251] Tsuda encouraged Japanese women to think and act independently, to lead and organize– traits that were, as Hastings point out, based on an idealized American womanhood.[252] Tsuda found these traits lacking among the women in Japan, and she hoped that independent thinking and action would elevate their self-worth. She also denounced the "doctrines of Confucius" for discouraging independent life and action, and intellectual pursuit among women.[253]

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[248] Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 197; Tsuda to the Philadelphia and New York Committees of Miss Tsuda's School, 11 January 1912, Tokyo, reprinted in *TUM*, 415.

[249] Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women," 13-14.

[250] Tsuda, "The Woman Movement in Japan," talk given at the Karuizawa summer school, Japan, 1914, TJDA.

[251] M. Carey Thomas visited Japan in 1915 and delivered an address during the closing ceremony at the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Takahashi, "Tsuda Umeko," 219.

[252] Tsuda, "Teaching in Japan," reprinted in *TUM*, 97; TU to AL, 12 August 1883; Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," 23, TJDA; Hastings, "American Culture and Higher Education," 625.

[253] Tsuda, "The Education of Japanese Women," reprinted in *TUM*, 30.

Tsuda's view of Confucianism as a contributing factor to Japanese women's subjection was common among Meiji reformers such as Fukuzawa and Iwamoto, who regarded it as a source of Japan's backwardness. Such perspective also resonated with Ogasawara Toyotarô's argument in his 1900 article in the Christian magazine *Rikugô zasshi*, which traced the prejudice against women to the "dark, feudal times."[254] These arguments linking Confucianism to women's subordinate position were part of the discursive construction of "modernity" in Meiji Japan.[255] "Tradition"/Confucianism was then taken as the background upon which reformist agenda were defined and launched.[256] It is worth noting, however, that despite Tsuda's renunciation of a Confucian-based education for women, she did not totally reject the values of "women of the past," especially loyalty, patience, and self-sacrifice. These were, as she reminded her students, compatible with the "newer life and greater energy and activity and of service."[257]

At the Joshi Eigaku Juku, individualism and a sense of responsibility were inculcated among students through teaching methods and school activities. Students were encouraged to formulate and to express their own opinions, instead of just listening to the teacher, taking notes, and memorizing everything she said for the examination. This teaching style, as one student attested, differed significantly from her experience in the elementary and high schools where teachers had more authority over the students. It was a revelation for Mishima, who entered the Joshi Eigaku Juku in 1918, "to know that a girl might have her own idea about anything and argue with her honorable teacher." Also, dormitory life and school activities, such as Christmas stage plays (e.g. "The Christmas Carol," "Les Miserables"), encouraged students to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility.[258] Tsuda wanted them to arrange all the details, including programs, invitations, and staging.[259] Ōba Minako, who entered the school after World War II, related how the experience of putting up a play encouraged her and her classmates to assume a primary role over "management responsibilities" normally assumed by men.[260]

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[254] Ogasawara Toyotarô, "Konnichi no tokuiku oyobi shôrai no tokuiku," *Rikugô zasshi* 230, 1900, 108-19, cited in Muta, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals," 65, 71n66.

[255] Historians have argued for a rethinking of the negative characterization of Confucianism by highlighting its progressive elements. Furthermore, Ko, Haboush, and Piggott recommend an examination of the "real and alleged power of 'Confucianism' to subjugate women." Historians of Japanese women have also challenged the generalized view of Confucianism as being against the education of women by pointing out that many daughters of the samurai and elite urban commoner families studied not only writing, reading, and arithmetic, but also the Confucian canon normally associated with men. Jean-Pierre Lehman, "Themes and theories in modern Japanese history," in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History*, eds. Sue Henry and Jean-Pierre Lehmann (New Jersey: The Athlone Press, 1988), 3-9; Ko, Haboush, and Piggot, eds., *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, 3; Hastings, "Women Educators of the Meiji Era," 84; Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko," 82; Tocco, "School Bound, "5. On the education of the daughters of the samurai and the common people (*shomin*), see Iseda, "Tsuda Umeko to sono jidai," 3, Tocco, "Female education in practice," 193-218.

[256] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4-5.

[257] "Principal's Address to the Graduating Class of 1911," *Alumnae Report of the Joshi Eigaku Juku* 7, June 1911, reprinted in *TUM*, 131. Also see "Address at The 3rd Graduation Ceremony," 1 April 1905, reprinted in *TUM*, 109.

Tsuda believed that with a liberal education, women would be able to prove themselves capable and worthy to demand their rights, including the right to vote. Scholars often point to Tsuda's stance against women's suffrage,[261] but she did not close the door on the possibility of women acquiring the vote in the future. She thought that Meiji women were not yet ready for it. They needed to have a liberal education first before they could have the same rights as men. Tsuda had a low-key approach to change, believing that "real work" would be done through "quiet ways" and in "quiet places." She decried the use of "militant" efforts, such as rallies, "processions," and banners to attain suffrage. Instead, for her, "consciousness and self-realization" through education would bring forth "more united efforts for freedom, rights, and enlightenment" for women.[262] Yet, in the 1920s and 1930s neither education nor lobbying on the part of Japanese women could convince the government to grant them the right to vote. Suffragists like Ichikawa Fusae adopted other strategies, such as working with the government, in order to demonstrate that women were capable and worthy of the right to vote.[263] In post-World War II the graduates of Tsuda's school embraced not only their long-denied right to vote, but also their right to run for office. A number of them were elected to the Diet (National Legislature).[264]

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[258] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 27, 60-61.

[259] Tsuda to the Philadelphia and New York Committees of Miss Tsuda's School, 11 January 1912, reprinted in *TUM*, 416. In 1917, Maynard Owen Williams reported about the stage play presented by the Joshi Eigaku students. It was arranged by the students themselves and some of its features even surprised Tsuda. Maynard Owen Williams, "Higher Educating the Womanhood of Japan," 7 March 1917, TJDA.

[260] Ōba Minako, Interview in Michiko Niikuni Wilson, *(Re) Thinking the (Fe) male in the Works of Ōba Minako* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1999), 179.

[261] Hastings, "American Culture," 618; Tocco, "School Bound," 283.

Providing women with "broader foundations"

Aside from liberal education, "broader foundations," which meant knowledge outside of the English language and literature, was vital part of the education of Joshi Eigaku students.[265] Out of the weekly fifteen to sixteen hour-long class periods, five hours were designated for elective courses. For the first year, elective courses included Japanese composition and Chinese classics. English poetry was offered for the second year, and poetry and psychology for the third year.[266] Students like Yamakawa, who was unhappy with the school's emphasis on English, enjoyed the elective courses, especially ethics and psychology. She was inspired to learn more about the humanities, and she unsuccessfully sought the permission of Professor Motoyoshi of the Imperial University in Tokyo to audit his course. Motoyoshi thought that it was "too early" for women to attend his classes.[267] Tsuda also kept the Joshi Eigaku Juku students updated on current events. This was a way to realize Tsuda's ideal of a well-rounded individual who was "informed of general matters" and "in touch with other lines of work." Thus, Alice Bacon held a class every Friday devoted solely to discussion of current events (*jiji mondô*). It was offered for the first and second year students. [268]

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[262] Tsuda, "The Woman Movement"; Tsuda, "Aspects of the Woman Question in Japan," 1914, TJDA.

[263] Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 141.

[264] For example, Tanaka Sumiko, who earlier worked at the Women's and Minor's Bureau, successfully ran as a candidate of the Socialist Party. Kamichika Ichiko was elected to the Diet. Kubota Manae, who first served on the United Nations Women's Status Committee, was also elected to the Diet.

[265] Tsuda, "The Future of Japanese Women," reprinted in *TUM*, 73.

[266] "Gakka-katei-hyo" [Chart of the Curriculum], *Shin eigo* [The Present English] 12, October 1900, cited in Takahashi, "Umeko Tsuda," 201.

Vocational training was another core component of what Tsuda considered as a "broader education for women." She maintained that such training should be useful, practical, and marketable. It should be "suited to her [a woman's] own tastes and capacities," like teaching, writing, nursing, cooking, or sewing.[269] One may argue that these lines of work were mere extensions of women's roles as wife and mother, and they were already open to Meiji women. What is notable, however, is Tsuda's belief that these skills were necessary so that women could not only support their families, but also survive on their own and make decisions for themselves. In the early 1870s, Fukuzawa had similarly endorsed vocational training for women embodied in his idea of *jitsugaku*. Unlike Fukuzawa, Tsuda did not suggest that the end goal of vocational training was the well-being of the family and the nation. She declared, in a speech delivered to the Japanese YWCA at Karuizawa in 1915, that this kind of training could save a single marriageable woman from an unsuitable or distasteful marriage arranged by her parents or relatives.[270] As the background of students who entered the Joshi Eigaku Juku suggests, such training was also attractive to a divorced wife who had no previous work experience, or a widow who was left with the burden to care for her children and parents-in-law.

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[267] Yamakawa Kikue, "Meiji no Suegoro," 478, cited in Takahashi, "Umeko Tsuda," 208.
[268] Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 197; "Kaikôji no jikanwari," 28.
[269] Tsuda, "The Future of Japanese Women," reprinted in *TUM*, 75.
[270] Tsuda, "The Woman Movement in Japan," TJDA.

Among those who attended the school were divorced women or widows who were left with the responsibility of caring for their families. Tsuda, for example, acted as a "kindest adviser" to a student who was left to support her children, her dead husband's mother and grandmother. After graduating from the Joshi Eigaku Juku, this woman taught at a girls' high school and later returned to teach at the Joshi Eigaku Juku.[271]

Training independent, caring, and generous women

Tsuda's ideal woman was not only someone with an independent mind and means, but also someone with a caring and generous heart. For example, she urged the Joshi Eigaku Juku students to participate in social and philanthropic activities.[272] She encouraged them to join in the school's fund-raising activities, such as the "English entertainment" held in March 12, 1904 for the benefit of the "destitute families of soldiers" who fought in the Russo-Japanese war.[273] Tsuda's methods to women's education was designed, in part, to counter those who discouraged women from pursuing higher education because it would make them uncaring, selfish, and self-centered.[274] Underlying this negative view of educated women was the fear that they might neglect their children and their homes. Similarly, in China during the early 1900s the opposition of Hunan and Hubei's governor-general, Zhang Zhidong, to women's education was grounded on the fear that it would make girls "act independently" and make them contemptuous of their future parents-in-law.[275] By urging Joshi Eigaku Juku students to engage in philanthropic and charitable activities, Tsuda promoted the idea of educated women as individuals deeply committed to social and civic endeavors.

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[271] Mishima, *My Narrow Isle*, 62.

[272] Tsuda, "Address to the Graduating Class," 31 March 1906, *Alumnae Report of the Joshi-Eigaku-Juku* 2, June 1906, reprinted in *TUM*, 111.

[273] For a sample program of this benefit show, see *Tsuda Umeko to juku no 90 nen*, 38.

[274] Since 1875, Nakamura Masanao had already noted that there were men who argued that women would become conceited if they were allowed to read. Nakamura Masanao, "Creating Good Mothers" [Speech delivered on March 16, 1875], reprinted in William Reynolds Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 403.

[275] Paul Bailey, "Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife? The Debate over Women's Education in Early-Twentieth Century

There were tensions, however, between Tsuda's teachings and her personal beliefs, and this had unintended consequences for her students. By training her students to be independent, to take initiative, and to lead, she helped educate women who acted in ways beyond what she had endorsed for them and beyond societal norms. For example, Kamichika Ichiko (1888-1981) became a member of the controversial feminist group, *Seitôsha* (Bluestockings), founded in 1911 to encourage women's creative talents and full potential.[276] Led by Hiratsuka Raichô, *Seitô* members were popularly known as "new women" (*atarashii onna*) who rejected the attitude of submissiveness and timidity among women. Aspiring to become a writer, Kamichika was first attracted to the group because of its magazine.[277] Fanned by malicious gossip about the "new women's" activities, opposition to the *Seitôsha* grew.[278] Hiratsuka received death threats and some people threw stones at her house.[279] Given Tsuda's Christian beliefs and emphasis on a low-key approach to change, she denounced the *Seitô* group for their "extreme utterances" and "immoral" teachings, especially free love. Like Tsuda, her friend Sutematsu also criticized the "new women" for promoting a lifestyle that was a "superficial and

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China," in *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, eds. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 318.

[276] Kamichika Ichiko became a reporter for the *Nichi nichi shimbun* in Tokyo, and in 1953 she successfully ran as a member of the House of Representatives. She served in the Diet for sixteen years and campaigned for the abolition of prostitution. "Feminist Kamichika Ichiko," *The East* XXV, no. 2 (July/August 1989): 17-23.

[277] Seitô started as a journal aimed to develop women's literature, and it became a vehicle for social and political change. Yosano Rasplica Rodd, "Yosano Akiko and the Taishô Debate over the 'New Woman,'" in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 178.

[278] When Hiratsuka and some other people went to the Yoshiwara district to learn more about the lives of the prostitutes, a newspaper headlined, "Seitô New Women, Seeking Equal Rights with men, Spend Night of Pleasure with Yoshiwara Prostitute." Cited in Yamamoto Fujie, *Kogane no kugi-ô utta hito* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1985), 573, cited in Rodd, "Yosano Akiko," 177.

[279] Rodd, "Yosano Akiko," 177.

mistaken" adaptation of western ideas and equality between men and women.[280] Tsuda further asserted that better education of women, not free love, would solve societal problems.[281] Kamichika tried to hide her affiliation with the *Seitô* by using a pen name, but the Joshi Eigaku Juku discovered it. Her graduation was allowed only on the condition that she would move to the northern province of Aomori to teach English in a local girls' school in Hirosaki.[282]

Conclusion

Tsuda's promotion of women's education demonstrates how she successfully negotiated the constraints and made full use of the opportunities brought out by her complex identity and background in order to bolster her arguments in support of women's higher education. In the process, she also carved out her own niche in the Japanese education world. Historian Martha Tocco attributes the success of Tsuda's school, in part, to her support of state authority.[283] I would argue that it was due to her success in dealing with government regulations and expectations. Although her public statements that invoked the familial and national benefits of women's education and the "ideal wife and mother" resonated with the state ideology of the "good wife, wise mother," they were also powerful arguments for women's education. Tsuda also endorsed Christian values that were compatible with those promoted by government officials. Furthermore, she validated her position as an authority on women's education by invoking the names of and forging collaborative relationships with prominent male Christian Japanese educators like Nitobe Inazô and Iwamoto Yoshiharu, although not so much with women educators of her time. Tsuda's emphasis on Christian education was probably one of the factors that discouraged her from forming similar collaborative relationships with non-Christian Japanese women educators. Nonetheless, she successfully harnessed the support of American Protestant women for the education of Japanese women by highlighting Japan's need for Christian values and, in part, reproducing the image of Japanese women as helpless and ignorant.

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[280] Tsuda, "The Woman Movement," TJDA; Yamakawa to Bacon, 12 March 1912, reprinted in Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations*, 228.

[281] Tsuda, "Aspect of the Woman Question in Japan," TJDA.

[282] "Feminist Kamichika Ichiko," 20. Kamichika eventually lost her teaching job in this school after her connection with the Seitôsha was discovered. Many members around the country were also forced to resign. Yamamoto, *Kogane no kagi*, cited in Rodd, "Yosano Akiko," 177-78.

[283] Tocco, "School Bound," 283.

Tsuda's neglect of women's suffrage and her non-confrontational approach to change may have rendered her less attractive to scholars of feminist and women's movements in Japan, but she gave voice to feminist aspirations by encouraging women to think and decide for themselves, to become responsible, and to be financially independent. Unlike Fukuzawa Yukichi and Iwamoto Yoshiharu, and education ministry officials like Kikuchi Dairoku, Tsuda asserted the importance of educating women for themselves, not solely in the interests of their husbands and country.

Tsuda profoundly influenced womanhood in modern Japan. She helped send to the United States and educate in Japan a select group of women, who propagated her ideals through their roles as teachers, administrators, and founders of their own schools.[284] She challenged gender ideals in Meiji Japan by professionalizing teaching for women and training them so that they could compete with men in the teaching world, not just become "good wives, wise mothers." Many graduates from Tsuda's school entered fields traditionally considered as men's domains, and they distinguished themselves in various fields.[285] Today, graduates of the Tsuda College live and work inside and outside Japan. No matter what kind of life they have chosen for themselves, they find inspiration in Tsuda's experiences and teachings, believing that they carry her spirit within them.

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[284] Matsuda Michi, the first recipient of the American scholarship, became dean of the Dôshisha Girls' School in Kyoto after her stint as an English professor there. The second recipient, Kawai Michi, returned to teach at the Joshi Eigaku Juku after four years of study at Bryn Mawr College. Hoshino Ai, a graduate of Joshi Eigaku Juku and recipient of the American scholarship, later became the second president of Tsuda's school. Demakis, "No Madame Butterflies," 24.

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[285] For example, Kume Ai was Japan's first woman lawyer. Nakane Chie became the first woman professor of the University of Tokyo. Ôba Minako won the prestigious Akutagawa prize for literature. Furuki, "All those Blossoms: A Letter to Miss Tsuda,"139-50.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

This study began with the question of whether the *ryôsai kenbo* ideal emanated solely from the Meiji government officials. By examining the history of women's education, my study revealed that there was no single source of discourse on modern womanhood. State and non-state reformers' arguments and initiatives for women's education mutually reinforced and also competed with each other. Their visions of womanhood exhibited certain similarities and also distinct differences. Furthermore, my study showed the beginnings of the state promotion of gender ideals that scholars had previously alluded to or totally ignored. Visions of women as caretakers and educators of children and, in part, as in charge of family welfare figured in the Meiji government officials' arguments and efforts since the 1870s. Increasing emphasis on women's responsibilities as caretakers of children and the elderly, and managers of their homes emerged in the 1880s and became prominent beginning in the 1890s. Throughout the Meiji era, government rhetoric and practices for the *ryôsai kenbo* paralleled the nationwide articulation of a "Japanese tradition"[1] against which several reformist agendas for women's education were defined and launched.

Non-state actors had a complex relationship to the state – they were not always directly oppositional. The boundary between state and society was fluid as shown in the intersecting ideas on womanhood of Fukuzawa Yukichi, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, Tsuda

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[1] Muta Kazue. "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals: The Paradox Underlying the Emergence of the "Home," trans. Marcella S. Gregory, *Nichi-Bei josei janaru* 7 (*U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*), English supplement (1994): 64.

Umeko, and of the Education Ministry bureaucrats.[2] Like many government officials, Fukuzawa and Iwamoto and, to some extent, Tsuda perceived women in terms of their contribution to the nation, including Japan's military expansion.[3]

Non-state and state reformers' arguments for educated Japanese womanhood discursively ignored class-based differences among women in Japan. The state ignored class-based differences by exhorting all women to practice endurance, submission, sacrifice, industriousness, and self-reliance, which were vital to Japan's industrial development and the preservation of the household.[4] Similarly, non-state rhetoric on educated womanhood may be viewed as part of a "nationalist discourse" that "imagined" a homogeneous nation and ignored differences across class, ethnicity, and region.[5] Such discourse helped define what was "Japanese" and articulated a "unified Japanese ethnos with the 'nation' to produce 'Japanese culture.'"[6]

Non-state reformers Fukuzawa and Iwamoto, and, to some extent, Tsuda considered important women's responsibilities as caretakers and educators of the young, and as companions of men. Their arguments, like those of the Education Ministry officials, contributed to the privileging of motherhood and wifehood, and reinforced a gendered division of labor that assigned these tasks mainly to women. However, non-state reformers also pointed to the ways to change power relations within the family. They saw men and women as complementary, advancing the idea of a "good wife" as equal to her husband. This was signified by Iwamoto's idea of the *hômu*. Also, Fukuzawa's encouragement for newly-married couples to establish a separate residence from their parents undermined the school curricula's promotion of elderly care as an essential component of the duties of a "good wife."

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[2] On studies that show the permeable boundary between public and private in Meiji Japan, see Donald Roden, "Thoughts on the Early Meiji Gentleman," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 61-98; Theodore F. Cook, Jr., "Making 'Soldiers': The Imperial Army and the Japanese Man in Meiji Society and State," *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 259-94.

[3] Similarly, social reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw factory women in terms of their contribution to the nation and to Japanese capitalism. Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Japanese Nationalism and the Female Body: A Critical Reassessment of the Discourse of Social Reformers on Factory Women," in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, eds. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 276.

[4] Sharon Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1943*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 165.

[5] Nationalist discourse "aims to achieve a specific, and if possible stable, perception of a society's proper relationship with the outside world." James L. White, *The Ambivalence of Nationalism: Modern Japan between East and West*, eds. J.W. White, M. Umegaki, and T. Havens (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 1.

[6] Marily Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4.

Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda promoted the importance of women's domestic roles, but they also subverted the Education Ministry bureaucrats' image of women by defining women not solely as wives and mothers, but also as participants in socio-civic affairs and as income-earners. Thus, they helped construct a new and distinct identity for women that was not necessarily anchored in their relationships with their fathers and husbands.

All three of the non-state reformers examined in this study saw women as equal to men in their intellectual capabilities, although only Iwamoto and Tsuda supported the idea of women pursuing higher education at the time. Among the three of them, Tsuda was the only one who established a school for women's higher learning, although Iwamoto's involvement in the American scholarship Tsuda helped establish for Japanese women implies support for women's higher education.

Giving more attention to the struggle for individual and political rights, some scholars have downplayed the contributions of Fukuzawa and Iwamoto in the history of feminist movements in Japan because of their arguments for the importance of women's domestic dut[illegible] Similarly, despite Tsuda's feminist arguments and initiatives, she is a problematic [illegible]ure for some scholars of feminism in Japan because she did not promote women's suf[illegible]. Feminism, however, is not limited to the struggle for legal equality. It is constitutive [illegible] ideas and practices aimed at elevating the conditions of women in various arenas, including the home. For Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda, *fûfu dôken* (equal rights of husband and wife) did not necessarily equate to *danjo dôken* (equal rights of men and women) at the time. Still, it can be argued that their emphasis on first improving women's conditions at home helped lay the groundwork for future advocacy for women's rights, including Hiratsuka Raichô's argument in the 1910s for state protection for mothers.

Furthermore, "respect for women and their personhood" – a major focus of feminist advocacy during the Meiji period[7] – was central to Fukuzawa's, Iwamoto's, and Tsuda's thinking on the education of women. For Fukuzawa, a respected womanhood was necessary to gain the respect of western powers. For Iwamoto, it meant not just a respected nation, but it was also essential for moral reform. For Tsuda, it was necessary not just for moral reform and for the nation, but, more importantly, for women themselves.

Aside from revealing the similarities and differences in the educational views and efforts of state and non-state actors, this study also indicated that non-state education reformers were not a monolithic group. Unlike the majority non-Christians like Fukuzawa, Christians like Iwamoto and Tsuda advanced the notion of educated women as participants in the movement for moral reform. More importantly, in contrast to

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[7] Barbara Molony, "State and Women in Modern Japan: Feminist Discourses in the Meiji and Taishô Eras," in *Japan: State and People in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Janet Hunter, Discussion Paper JS/99/1683 (March 1999), 24, 27, posted at http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/js/js368.pdf, accessed 24 August 2005.

Fukuzawa and Iwamoto and the government officials, who were mostly men, Tsuda declared that women should be educated for themselves, not solely for the interest of the family and the nation[illegible]e took concrete actions to provide women, albeit a select few of them, with an opportunity to pursue higher learning in Japan and in the United States. Tsuda gave voice to women who, according to Mariko Asano Tamanoi, were "denied in nationalist discourse the privilege of talking about the multiplicity of their experiences," and in advancing their visions of why and how far women should be educated.[8] She demonstrated how marginalized groups like women, although she was speaking from a privileged position within this group, spoke for and initiated education reforms to elevate their condition.

The stories of Fukuzawa, Iwamoto and Tsuda illuminate the constraints and opportunities non-state actors faced in their attempt to effect changes in women's lives. They also revealed the various strategies these reformers adopted to circumvent these difficulties. Iwamoto and Tsuda navigated the tensions embodied by their identities as Christians and as Japanese. Iwamoto tried to demonstrate the compatibility of these two identities by focusing on common ideas. Tsuda utilized her linkages mostly with Christian American women in order to establish a scholarship and a school for Japanese women. In the 1890s, she appealed to the Christian American women's sense of duty to launch her education projects. After she opened her school in 1900, she asserted Japanese self-determinism by stressing that her school was a "Japanese undertaking." Furthermore, Fukuzawa, Iwamoto, and Tsuda invoked the "good wife, wise mother" ideal in order to claim women's right to be educated. They appropriated the discourse on *ryôsai kenbo* and loaded it with their own meanings in order to boost their arguments for the education of women. Like the Education Ministry bureaucrats, they anchored their reformist agenda on an indictment of the Tokugawa system, although their visions of modern womanhood also incorporated what were regarded as compatible virtues from the past, such as industry and endurance.

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[8] Tamanoi, "Japanese Nationalism and the Female Body," 275.

Unlike male reformers such as Fukuzawa and Iwamoto, who utilized Japanese newspapers to propagate their ideas to the public, Tsuda's platform for reform beginning in the 1890s was the American scholarship for Japanese women and her school, the Joshi Eigaku Juku. Hers was an effective approach to the education of women. Other Meiji women educators like Tanahashi Ayako, Miwata Masako, and Yamawaki Fusako taught in state educational institutions, published in journals associated with the state, and spoke at officially sponsored conferences.[9] In an effort to circumvent what Tsuda felt as the constraints brought about by her gender, her views, and her link to the state as a government scholar, in the 1880s she expressed her ideas on how to improve women's conditions mainly in her private letters to her American foster parents, Adeline and Charles Lanman. She also found expression in her speeches mostly to Christian women in the United States and in Japan, as well as in her articles published in American newspapers. In Japan, she published in the *Jogaku zasshi*, which was edited by Christian and women's education advocate, Iwamoto. She forged collaborative relationships with prominent male Christian Japanese educators, such as Nitobe Inazô and Iwamoto Yoshiharu, in order to strengthen her position as an authority on women's education.

Fukuzawa and Tsuda stressed the importance of working from outside (*zaiya*) the government as a platform for launching a reformist agenda. Their stories tell us, however, that the boundary between "public" and "private" spheres was blurred. The success of Fukuzawa and Tsuda, as well as that of Iwamoto, relied on their navigation of public and private spaces. Although Fukuzawa did not assume an official government position, he was highly regarded in the government. After all, as Fukuzawa's biographer Helen M. Hopper points out, he "sent many *Keiô* graduates out into the worlds of commerce, banking, insurance, textiles, and other areas of business and industry essential to Japan's economic development." Upon his death, the Lower House of the Diet passed a resolution that recognized "with great respect and admiration the profound contribution Fukuzawa Yukichi made to Japanese education and to Japan." This was an unprecedented act by the Diet to commemorate the death of a person who was not a member of the legislative body.[10] Furthermore, during the last days of Fukuzawa, newspapers provided the public with a regular update of his medical condition and other related details, including his intake of "small quantity of milk, gruel, and bean soup." They also reported that the Emperor and the Empress sent the Fukuzawa family a gift as a "token of Imperial sympathy."[11]

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[9] Sally A. Hastings, "Women Educators of the Meiji Era and the Making of Modern Japan," *International Journal of Social Education* 6 (1991): 83-94.

Tsuda was a public figure in Japan who resigned from her government position at the Kazoku Jogakkô in order to found a private school that was officially recognized by the Ministry of Education. Her school supplied Japan with the much needed teachers who could teach beyond the elementary school. Her experiences and success as a pioneer of women's higher education, which was based mostly on the support of private individuals and groups in the United States and Japan, took on public and national meanings. She represented Japan and delivered a speech at the fourth international convention of the

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[10] "The Late Mr. Fukuzawa," *The Japan Times*, 8 February 1901, 3; Helen M Hopper, *Fukuzawa Yukichi: From Samurai to Capitalist* (New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2005), 132.

[11] "Mr. Fukuzawa," *The Japan Times*, 29 January 1901, 2; 1 February 1901, 6; 2 February 1901, 3.

General Federation of Women's Clubs at Denver, Colorado in June 1898. In 1915, the Emperor awarded her with the prestigious Order of the Sacred Crown.[12]

Unlike Fukuzawa and Tsuda, Iwamoto's promotion of women's education by the mid-1890s had lost its earlier vitality. A fire consumed the Meiji Jogakkô on February 5, 1896, and five days later, Wakamatsu Shizuko, Iwamoto's wife, died. Although he reopened the school at a new location and continued his work both at the school and at the *Jogaku zasshi*, his work had "lost their spirit."[13] His legacy, however, lived on in the achievements of numerous women, including Tsuda, whom he greatly inspired.

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[12] The Order of the Sacred Crown was established by Emperor Meiji in 1888, and it was conferred only on women. Tsuda died in 1929.

[13] Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves*: *Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 49.

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